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Hispanic Policy Development Project

Volume I

Moving Into the Political Mainstream

How officials view the obstacles facing Hispanics, their opportunities, and the outlook for the 1980s

The Hispanic Policy Development Project is a non-profit organization—a 501(C)(3)—which encourages the analysis of public policies and policy proposals affecting Hispanics in the United States.

HPDP directs its efforts in particular to the problems of Hispanic youth: secondary education, employment, and access to social services. Compared to other segments of the U.S. population, the Hispanic segment is young. This youthful population is often inadequately served by schools and social service agencies, and many Hispanic young people are insufficiently trained to compete effectively in the job market. To attack these problems, HPDP supports high-level public policy commissions composed of prestigious Hispanics and non-Hispanics; conferences, seminars, and debates around central education and employment issues; both lay and professional analysis and evaluation of specific policy options; and policy analysis competitions open to Hispanic and non-Hispanic scholars as well as Hispanic organizations. HPDP places major emphasis on supporting the work of Hispanic organizations and increasing their access to policy-making networks.

The communication of policy data, recommendations, and proposals is a major part of HPDP's program. Using extensive contacts among representatives of the business and corporate world and among policy makers on both state and national levels, as well as frequent briefing sessions, conferences, and seminars, HPDP seeks to bring its findings to the attention of key groups and leaders throughout the United States. The production of publications is part of that effort.

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How Officials View the Obstacles Facing Hispanics, Their Opportunities, and the Outlook for the 1980s

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Volume I

MOVING INTO THE POLITICAL MAINSTREAM

A National Survey of Elected and Appointed Hispanic Officials

conducted by

The Public Agenda Foundation

for

The Hispanic Policy Development Project

Project Director: **Keith Melville**
Survey Research: **Harvey Lauer**

February 1984

Introduction

THE 1980s have been called "The Decade of Hispanics," and certainly the size of the Hispanic population will increase significantly. What is not so certain is whether there will be a corresponding increase in the influence of Hispanics, and real progress toward solution of the pressing problems that face Hispanics. If that is to happen, the problems must be more sharply defined, proposals to alleviate those problems must be formulated, and realistic solutions must be brought to the attention of public and private policy makers. To that end, the Hispanic Policy Development Project is implementing a program—

- To encourage development of practical proposals to deal with problems facing the Hispanic population;
- To encourage active collaboration between Hispanic and non-Hispanic leaders;
- To increase public awareness of Hispanic problems and to mobilize public influence in support of action on the part of both public and private institutions to deal with the most serious Hispanic issues;
- To increase the resources available to Hispanic organizations and individuals for the purpose of undertaking studies of public policy.

The dissemination of research findings and policy analyses is a HPDP priority. Publication of these two reports that have emerged from the 1983 poll conducted by the Public Agenda Foundation is only the beginning of a major effort which, over time, will produce a series of papers on different aspects of the Hispanic reality.

In its brief preface, below, the Public Agenda Foundation points out that its findings reflect only the opinions of a sample group of elected and appointed Hispanic officials. These are influential individuals whose views deserve to be carefully considered by Hispanics and non-Hispanics alike. But it cannot be assumed that their opinions necessarily are shared by other segments of Hispanic leadership. Nor can it be assumed that the views they express are representative of the Hispanic population as a whole. They are largely educated and successful Hispanics, and they may not reflect the attitudes of the entire Hispanic community.

Some of these findings or their interpretation may provoke disagreement and spark debate. But we feel that presenting these data and provoking debate is a healthy way to dispel stereotypes about Hispanics and to focus public attention on the obstacles that Hispanics continue to face in achieving full integration into this society.

The Public Agenda Foundation was responsible for conducting the survey and interpreting its findings, which are presented in these two reports, **Volume I, Moving Into the Political Mainstream,** and **Volume II, Moving Up to Better Education and Better Jobs.** The questionnaire and a tabulation of responses, together with a copy of the letter sent to potential respondents, can be found in the Appendix. Readers interested in looking more closely at the open-ended questions or in examining the computer printout are invited to query HPDP.

There are many other sources of reliable data about Hispanics. Readers looking for additional information are directed to the list of organizations in the Appendix at the end of this report. The list is by no means all-inclusive, and provides only a starting point for people who want to learn more about Hispanics.

For more information about HPDP's activities and publications, send your request, together with your name and address, to—

The Hispanic Policy Development Project
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We welcome your questions and comments.

Siobhan Oppenheimer-Nicolau
President
Hispanic Policy Development Project

The Public Agenda Foundation

Last year the Hispanic Policy Development Project asked us to carry out a challenging assignment, one that to our knowledge had not been done before. We were asked to conduct a national study of elected and appointed Hispanic officials. In June and July interviews were conducted with 448 Hispanic officials, drawn from all levels of government and from each of the major Hispanic subgroups: Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and "other Hispanics." They were asked about the obstacles facing the Hispanic community, its opportunities, and the outlook for the 1980s.

Despite frequently voiced concern about a lack of common cause among Hispanic groups, we found a surprisingly high level of agreement among respondents about priority concerns for the entire Hispanic community. The first report summarizing the results of this study, Volume I, Moving Into the Political Mainstream, focuses on one of those concerns, the as yet unrealized political potential of Hispanics. The second report, Volume II, Moving Up To Better Education and Better Jobs, focuses on the other priority concern so frequently expressed in these interviews. In the estimation of these officials, unemployment and underemployment are at the top of the list of problems facing Hispanics today. Our interviews shed a good deal of light on what Hispanic officials believe to be contributing factors, the role education plays in perpetuating the problem, and what needs to be done to improve matters.

Many of these officials agreed that the very fact that so little information about Hispanics is available to policy makers is itself a serious problem. Studies such as this can help alleviate that problem. What these officials express is a matter of great concern not only to the more than 15 million mainland Hispanics, but also to that much broader group of citizens who want to know more about the nation's fastest growing minority group. We think that the two reports which summarize the study's results should contribute to a better understanding of this unique and increasingly important segment of the U.S. population.

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1.
Study Design and Methodology

Early in 1983, the Hispanic Policy Development Project called on the Public Agenda Foundation—a non-profit, nonpartisan research and education organization—to conduct a national survey of elected and appointed Hispanic officials in the United States. Our goal was to probe the concerns of Hispanic officials at various levels of responsibility and from various regions of the country, and to explore their perceptions of the chief problems facing Hispanics in the 1980s.

The Sample

Our sample of 448 Hispanics—all former or current elected or appointed officials—was drawn from lists compiled by the National Council of La Raza, based on information provided by the National Association of Elected and Appointed Officials, state governments, and state political parties. The sample includes a Member of the U.S. Congress, state legislators, city council members, school board officials, magistrates, and county sheriffs, clerks, treasurers, assessors, and other local office-holders. It was drawn from nine states which together include some 88.7 percent of the nation's Hispanic population as defined by the 1980 Census:

	Total Hispanic Population (000)	Percent of Total Hispanic Population	Percent of Hispanic Leaders in Sample
California	4,066	31	12
Texas	3,531	27	30
New York	1,927	14	7
Florida	1,048	8	3
New Mexico	595	4	24
New Jersey	535	4	1
Arizona	531	4	9
Illinois	671	5	2
Colorado	381	3	12
	13,285	100	100

In addition to the fact that there were far more males in our sample than females (361 males compared to 76 females), our sample differed from the Hispanic population as a whole in another respect. Whereas only about 40 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population was born in this country, fully 92 percent of our sample was born here.

Sample Composition by Ethnic Background

While every effort was made to include in our sample officials from each of the various Hispanic subgroups, because the ranks of elected and appointed officials do not reflect the numerical importance of each of these subgroups, they are not represented proportionately in this study. Here, according to country of descent, is the composition of our sample:

Sample Compositions by Country of Descent

	Number	Percentage
Mexico	231	52
Puerto Rico	35	8
Cuba	18	3
Spain	66	15
Other	98	21
	448	100

Although special efforts were made to locate Hispanic officials from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, two groups are underrepresented. While Puerto Ricans represent 15 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population, Puerto Rican officials comprise only 8 percent of this sample. Similarly, while Cubans

represent some 7 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population, Cubans comprise just 3 percent of our survey respondents.

The disproportionately high number of Mexican Americans in the sample can be attributed in part to their residence in towns and small cities in the Southwest which offer more opportunities for government service than do large cities. On a proportional basis, fewer residents of Los Angeles or New York City hold elective or appointive office compared to those who live in New Mexico, Colorado, or West Texas. That the ratio of Chicano officials to the size of that group is higher than the ratio for Puerto Ricans reflects, in other words, the size of the towns and cities in which these groups live as much as it reflects the effectiveness of their political organizations.

The Questionnaire

An introductory letter was mailed to prospective respondents in April 1983, describing the purpose of the study and the fact that it was being conducted for the Hispanic Policy Development Project.

Telephone interviews, based on a structured questionnaire, were conducted in May, June, and July, 1983. These interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes each. Most of them took place during business hours.

2.
Unrealized Political Potential

As the 1984 election season begins, an unprecedented amount of attention is being devoted to the great political potential of America's most rapidly growing minority. Both parties are mounting major campaigns to win the hearts and votes of Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Hispanic groups. Hispanics are beginning to see the potential of their numbers, especially in those six states—California, Texas, New York, Florida, New Jersey, and Illinois—that cast about three-fifths of the 270 electoral votes required to elect a President. As Toney Anaya, a Mexican-American who is the new Governor of New Mexico, recently said, "It appears to me that we have become a crucial group, not only in the presidential process, but in many areas of the country at all levels of electoral politics."

The occasion for that remark was a meeting held in August 1983 in San Antonio, at which some 200 Hispanic Americans convened to open a national nonpartisan drive to persuade their people to vote. While many of the speakers at that conference referred to disappointing Hispanic voter turnout in the past, the main emphasis was on the great potential that Hispanics might realize in 1984. That sentiment was shared by many of the elected and appointed Hispanic officials interviewed for this study. As one man, a Puerto Rican who is a New York City Councilman, put it, "Hispanics today are right on the threshold. We're ready to make a breakthrough on all levels—local, state, and federal. We are so close we can almost taste it."

Yet for all the considerable political potential of this group, the experience of the past decade shows that the potential has been slow to develop and hard to realize. Despite the fact that there are now more than one and one-half million Hispanic citizens of voting age in California, the great majority of them Chicanos, they are still commonly referred to as "the invisible minority." In Los Angeles, where Chicanos make up about a third of the city's population, and where half the kindergarten students have Spanish surnames, there is no Mexican-American on the city council. Despite the fact that Hispanics comprise about ten percent of the state's voting age population, there are only seven Chicanos among the 120 members of the state legislature.

There are some states where Hispanics hold a great deal of political power. In New Mexico, where people of Spanish ancestry played an important role in governance long before it became a state in 1912, Hispanic officials are today both visible and powerful. In addition to Governor Anaya, two of the state's three Congress Members are Hispanic, as are 33 of the state's 112 state legislators. It is estimated that some 70 percent of eligible Hispanic voters went to the polls last year when Mr. Anaya was elected.

If what has happened in New Mexico shows the potential of Hispanics, the situation in New York City shows how far Hispanics have to go to develop their political strength. Two-thirds of eligible Hispanics in New York City—some 400,000 people—are unregistered. Hispanics in New York City have lower voter participation rates than any of the city's other ethnic groups. In fact, according to Richard C. Wade, an urban historian at the City University of New York, Hispanic voter participation rates are lower than those of any ethnic group in the city's history at a similar point in their development.

"Hispanics in the United States have traditionally been underinformed and underinvolved," as former federal official Santiago Rodriguez put it several years ago. "Hispanics have wielded relatively little political power, lacked major national organizations, possessed no lobbying strength and exerted only a minimum national visibility."

Nor is the record of the past three presidential elections encouraging. In 1972, Census reports estimated that 38 percent of eligible Hispanics voted; in 1976 the percentage had declined to 32 percent. By 1980, Hispanic voting had dropped still further to

about 30 percent—compared to about a 60-percent turnout for Anglos and a 50-percent turnout for Blacks.

In the 1982 midterm elections, however, there was a significant upturn in Hispanic voter turnout in some industrial areas such as New Jersey and northern Illinois, as well as Hispanic strongholds such as Texas and New Mexico. As the 1984 election approaches, and many Hispanic leaders put their efforts behind voter registration drives, the question is whether gains such as those registered by Hispanics in some areas of the country in 1982 can be made nationwide. What these 448 officials said when we talked with them early in the summer of 1983 sheds a good deal of light on the obstacles which have kept Hispanics out of the political mainstream, and on what can be done about those obstacles.

3.
How Serious Is Low Voter Turnout?

Low Hispanic Voting Rates Are a Major Concern to All Hispanic Leadership Groups

- Asked to rank some 21 problems in their order of importance to Hispanics, elected and appointed officials from each of the major Hispanic sub-groups indicated that low voting participation rates are one of the top three concerns.
- Overall, 68 percent of our sample regarded this as either a "serious" or a "very serious" concern.
- Low voting rates among Hispanics are regarded as a far more serious problem by Puerto Ricans than by other Hispanics. Seventy-six percent of the Puerto Ricans saw this as a "very serious" problem, compared to 44 percent of the Chicanos and 38 percent of the Cubans. Puerto Ricans feel that this is the single most important problem facing Hispanics today—even more important than unemployment.
- Younger Hispanic officials (those under 35) are far more concerned about low voting participation than those over 50.

The Officials' Comments

- Many Hispanic officials feel strongly about this problem. In the words of one man, a Puerto Rican who serves on the New York State Supreme Court: "We've got to make Hispanics aware of just how much they have to gain from voting. We've got to make them aware that their votes **do** matter, that there is strength in numbers."
- In response to many of the questions in this survey, Puerto Rican officials felt problems to be more severe than their Chicano or Cuban counterparts considered them to be. But this pattern is most clearly visible on the question of whether low voting rates are a serious concern.

Several respondents offered similar explanations of why voting rates are lower among Puerto Ricans than among other Hispanics. One man, an advisor in the mayor's office in New York City, put it this way. "[Puerto Ricans] feel that they are here as transients. Because of that, there's no reason to get involved. Because they think they are only going to be here for a while, they don't think of legislation as being important to them."

That explanation is supported by the results of a 1981 study of the Hispanic population, conducted for the Spanish International Network (SIN—Spanish language television) by Yankelovich, Skelly and White. That study found that while Mexicans and Cubans feel separated from their countries of origin, and share a commitment to living in the United States, many Puerto Ricans (who are U.S. citizens) appear to feel more like visitors on the mainland. Many intend eventually to return to Puerto Rico to live permanently.

Which Are the Most Serious Problems Facing Hispanics?

(Percentage of Respondents Who Feel That This Is a Serious Problem)

1. Hispanic Unemployment 73%
2. Low Hispanic Voting Rates 68%
3. Undocumented Workers 64%
4. Hispanic Education 62%
5. Lack of Information About Hispanics . . . 61%

4.
What Barriers Have Kept Hispanics from Realizing Their Political Potential?

In several questions, we asked Hispanic officials to name barriers to increasing their political influence. **We found little support for three factors commonly regarded as substantial barriers:**

Discriminatory Voting Practices—Of the various reasons suggested to explain low Hispanic voter participation rates, the one regarded as significant by the **smallest** number of respondents was discriminatory voting practices. Despite the fact that until recent redistricting, gerrymandering was widespread in parts of the Southwest, fewer than a quarter of the respondents considered this an important reason for low voter turnout, while almost half appeared to dismiss its importance entirely.

A Characteristically Hispanic Tradition of Individualism or Self-Reliance—It is commonly assumed that one reason Hispanics have not been influential in government and politics is a cultural heritage that stresses individualism and self-reliance, a traditional preoccupation with family and community affairs rather than broad political issues. This factor was regarded by very few of these Hispanic officials as a significant explanation for low voting rates.

Differences Among Hispanic Groups That Prevent Political Cooperation—As one of our respondents put it, "Hispanic groups may mix, but they don't blend. We may all speak Spanish, but that's about where it stops in terms of being alike, or being able to work together. And that has kept us from exercising much political influence." Although various officials expressed concern about being a minority fractured into subgroups, relatively few (27 percent) consider this a very serious problem. Most agree that while this may be a more substantial barrier than discriminatory voting practices or a tradition of self-reliance, it doesn't account for low voter turnout. On this point, however, there are significant differences among Hispanics. While others are not inclined to regard this as a very serious problem, 45 percent of the Puerto Rican officials do.

Five Reasons for Low Hispanic Voting Rates

There was substantial agreement, however, about several factors that may explain why Hispanic voting rates have been so low. These five factors are the ones considered by at least a majority of the respondents to be important.

• The Feeling that Voting Won't Make a Difference

The chief obstacle Hispanic officials say they face is the need to convince their people that political participation can make a difference. In both structured and unstructured questions designed to specify the reasons for low political involvement among Hispanics, we got the same responses: the single greatest cause of low voting participation rates is a widespread feeling that votes simply won't make any difference. As one man, a Mexican American who is a member of a city council in southwest Texas put it, "What we really have to sell is the idea that voting **does** have an effect on what happens in the future."

• A Lack of Political Information

A widespread sense that voting won't make a difference is coupled with another problem, a lack of political information. "It is this combination that beats us," a Puerto Rican who directs one of the units in New York City's Department of Social Services said. "Too many of our people don't understand the electoral pro-

cess. And they don't realize how voting can change things." This was considered by the Hispanic officials we interviewed as the second most important reason for low voter turnout. Overall, our female respondents were more likely to cite this as a "very important reason" (62 percent compared to 40 percent for males), and Puerto Ricans considered this a more pressing problem than other Hispanic officials.

• A Lack of Qualified Political Organizers and Leaders

Third on this list of factors that explain low voter turnout is one that comes close to home for the officials we interviewed. As one man, a Chicano who is a member of the city council in Alice, Texas, put it, "We never had the civil rights battles, and as a result haven't had the leaders those confrontations brought to the forefront. What Hispanics need today is charismatic leaders. By and large, we haven't had candidates who can move people."

Important Reasons for Low Hispanic Voting Rates

The feeling that voting won't make a difference	73%
A lack of political information	68%
A lack of qualified political organizers and leaders	65%
Poor education of Hispanics	59%
Distrust of government	55%

• Poor Education of Hispanics

Overall, some six out of 10 of the officials in our sample said that the relatively low educational level of Hispanics is an important reason for low voter turnout. This is a factor that particularly concerned the Mexican Americans in our study. Cubans considered it a far less pressing concern. Voting studies have shown that education, together with age, is the best predictor of whether someone will vote. So, as indicated by the Census Bureau's Current Population survey, it is highly significant that only 45 percent of Hispanics aged 25 and older have graduated from high school, compared to 70 percent of all Americans in that age group. It is equally significant that younger Hispanics are catching up. Among those aged 25 to 34, 57 percent had completed high school, and 24 percent had completed at least one year of college.

• Distrust of Government

Closely related to the feeling that voting won't make a difference is a feeling of mistrust in government, which was cited by a clear majority of each Hispanic subgroup **except** the Puerto Ricans as an important reason for low voter turnout; 42 percent of the Puerto Rican officials regarded it as an important reason.

Lack of Political Cooperation Among Hispanic Groups

Seen as "A Very Serious Problem"

Total Sample	27%
Puerto Ricans	45%
Mexican Americans	32%
Cubans	16%

• Why Hispanics Don't Vote: the Outlook for Change

A recent study of why Americans vote, conducted jointly by ABC News and the John F. Kennedy School of Public Policy, came to this conclusion about non-voters: "Many people don't vote because they do not see voting as a means of influencing the direction of government. They feel cut off from and unrelated to the system, and therefore unobliged to it."

It would appear from the answers to this question that many of the officials we talked to think that Hispanics feel cut off from government, and that they lack not only political information but also confidence in government itself. If this is so, the hurdle Hispanic leaders face is to convince their people that political participation can make a difference.

5.
Which Institutions Best Serve The Hispanic Community?

One of the things we wanted to determine was which institutions are perceived as serving the Hispanic community well, and which are not. We read a list of twelve types of institutions—including churches, charities, and government institutions; Hispanic and non-Hispanic organizations; and local, regional, and national institutions—to Hispanic officials, and asked them to rate these institutions. Most of the ratings fell in the middle range, indicating moderate satisfaction. Several institutions stood out as most responsive to the Hispanic community, and three stood out as notably unresponsive. From best to worst, here is the list of institutions, and the percentage of Hispanic officials who said that Hispanics are well served by them:

Percentages Indicating that Hispanics Are Well Served by Various Institutions

Churches	61%
Hispanic Media	51%
Hispanic Civil Rights Organizations	43%
Public Schools	37%
Local Governments	35%
Unions	31%
State Governments	26%
Charitable Organizations	26%
Federal Government	24%
Mainstream Media	17%
Non-Hispanic Civil Rights Organizations	16%
Corporations	13%

• The Best and the Worst

The two institutions that stand out as most responsive to the Hispanic community are the churches and the Hispanic media, both of which are regarded by a majority of our respondents as serving it well. At the other end of the spectrum, two of the **least** responsive institutions were the corporations and the mainstream media, which were judged by a majority of our respondents (58 percent and 52 percent respectively) as serving the Hispanic community poorly.

• The Discontent of Puerto Rican Officials

There are several notable differences among Hispanic subgroups in the assessments of institutions. Puerto Ricans are far more critical of trade unions than other Hispanics; 60 percent of them feel that unions serve them poorly. Similarly, they are much more critical of the government, on all levels. Sixty percent of the Puerto Rican sample indicated that they are poorly served by the federal government, in contrast to 39 percent of the sample as a whole. Two institutions regarded as least responsive by Hispanic officials in general—the mainstream media and the corporations—were severely criticized by Puerto Rican officials. Seventy-nine percent felt that Hispanics are poorly served by the mainstream media and fully 90 percent felt the same way about corporations.

• Disgruntlement with Government

The high level of discontent with government is worth noting—particularly at the state and federal level. Nearly four out of 10 of our respondents felt poorly served by government at both state and federal levels.

6.
Outlook for the Future

In response to many questions on this survey, Hispanic officials dwelt on real problems still facing Hispanics. Yet when we asked about their outlook for the future, their responses were decidedly upbeat.

• Prospects for Hispanics over the Next Decade

Asked about prospects for Hispanics over the next ten years, a very high percentage of the officials we interviewed—from every Hispanic subgroup, from liberals and conservatives alike, and from leaders in all age groups—expressed the sentiment that the outlook for Hispanics is favorable. Seventy-nine percent indicated that prospects for Hispanics over the next decade are either "good" or "excellent." As one man, a Mexican American legislator serving in Washington, put it, "We're beginning to see a lot of progress." Judging by the responses to this question, the overwhelming majority of Hispanic officials expect that progress to continue.

• Comparative Prospects

When asked to compare Hispanic prospects with those of other minorities, nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of these officials indicated that the prospects for Hispanics are better. Only five percent feel that Hispanic prospects are worse than those of other minorities. Even among that relatively small group who feel that Hispanic prospects for the next decade are not very good, nearly half feel that Hispanics are likely to fare better than other minorities.

• Which Hispanic Group Enjoys the Best Prospects?

While there was an understandable inclination for officials from each of the three main Hispanic groups to express the greatest optimism for their own group's prospects, the over-all sentiment was that Chicanos enjoy the brightest prospects. As a Puerto Rican jurist said, "Chicanos are coming up fast. They have the numbers. And they have the advantage of being concentrated in the Southwest. As a result, it's easier for them to get elected to office. Meanwhile, Puerto Ricans here in the East don't yet have the numbers, and we're still spinning our wheels." In the words of a Mexican American from Edinburg, Texas: "I think we're finally learning to work together toward a common goal."

• Reasons for Optimism

Among the comments these officials made were frequent references to the fact that traditional patterns and stereotypes are breaking down. One Puerto Rican, serving as a New York City official, said, "People are beginning to realize that we don't all live in the South Bronx, drive a Chevy, and drink beer." In the words of a Hispanic city commissioner in Las Vegas, New Mexico, "We've come a long way. We've finally penetrated the mainstream—both politically and financially."

• Time Is on Our Side

"The most encouraging sign of all," as one of our respondents put it, "is demographics." There are two respects in which the demographics may indeed lead to growing political influence. First is the increasing size of the Hispanic community as a percentage of the entire American population, projected to rise from the 1980 level of 6.4 percent to about 9 percent over the next 15 years. Second is the median age of the Hispanic population. The median age of Hispanics is now 23, lower than that of the Black population, which is 25, and much lower than that of the white population, which is 31. Even with relatively high fertility rates, the median age of Hispanics is expected to climb by the year 2000 to between 27 and 29 years. Since in general older citizens vote more regularly than young adults, Hispanic voting rates are likely to improve as a natural function of demographic trends. "Especially in politics, numbers are the name of the game," as one New York Puerto Rican put it. "As Hispanics grow in number, we're going to grow in influence."

A Potential for Consensus

It is frequently asserted that the goal of Hispanic unity and real political strength is likely to remain elusive because of the fundamental differences among Hispanic groups. U.S. Hispanics are many distinct and in some respects diverse groups, consisting not only of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans, but also others from Central and South America, particularly the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Argentina, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. In their 1981 survey of the U.S. Hispanic population, Yankelovich, Skelly and White found that more than six out of 10 Hispanics perceived important differences between Hispanic groups. The hope of a common identity and a single political program for Hispanics often seems elusive in the face of those differences.

So we examined the results of this survey to determine whether the Hispanic community seems seriously divided by those ethnic differences.

Leaving the Old Country Behind

Not long ago Miami Mayor Maurice Ferre, a Puerto Rican, stated that it's time for Hispanics in this country to leave behind the politics of their old countries. "Rather than concentrating on Puerto Rican statehood," he said, "Hispanics should get more serious about immediate problems." Judging by the results of this survey, Puerto Rican officials are inclined to do just that. Compared to the major issues of education, unemployment, and voting participation, the issue of Puerto Rican independence or statehood ranked quite low as a priority. This seems to suggest that Hispanic officials from different groups will be able to come together with a common list of priorities.

Few Real Differences On Policy Priorities

On some 21 problem areas discussed in these interviews, we found a high level of agreement about policy priorities. Among the problems defined as the four most serious issues facing Hispanics today, three issues—education, unemployment, and low voting rates—appeared on all three lists. On many of the issues examined in this study, there were greater differences along political or demographic lines than between the representatives of various Hispanic subgroups. It would appear, in other words, that there is real potential for consensus among Hispanic groups about a common political agenda.

There Is Substantial Agreement About The Main Problems Facing Hispanics

The most serious problems as perceived by:

Ranking of Problems	Mexican Americans	Puerto Ricans	Cubans
	1. Undocumented Workers	1. Low Voter Participation	1. U.S. Relations with Cuba
	2. Unemployment	2. Unemployment	2. Education
	3. Low Voter Participation	3. Education	3. Low Voter Participation
	4. Education	4. Lack of Political Cooperation Among Hispanic Groups	4. Unemployment

Appendix

A. Composition of the Sample

Age

Under 35	20%
35-49	50%
50-64	27%
Refused	3%

Gender

Male	83%
Female	17%

Education

Graduate Degree or Law Degree	22%
College Graduate	22%
Some College	32%
High School Graduate	20%
Some High School or Less	4%

Political Affiliation

Liberal	28%
Conservative	20%
Middle of the road	48%
Other	2%
Don't know	2%

Country of Birth

U.S.	92%
Outside U.S.	8%

Country of Descent

Mexico	53%
U.S.	18%
Spain	15%
Puerto Rico	8%
Cuba	3%
Other	3%

Religion

Catholic	86%
Protestant	6%
Other	5%
None	2%
Refused	1%

B. Introductory Letter

Hispanic Policy Development Project

April _____, 1983

Your name has been selected from a national list of elected Hispanic officials for possible participation in a study sponsored by the Hispanic Policy Development Project.

The objective of HPDP is to provide policymakers with accurate, unbiased data on the Hispanic population so that policy decisions—crucial to the well-being and future productivity of this growing population—can be made on facts rather than stereotype, ignorance, or indifference.

This is *not* an academic study. With your help, we hope to broaden the knowledge of the non-Hispanic leader-

ship about Hispanic problems and concerns, as well as increase Hispanic participation in the policymaking process.

Within the next several weeks, you may be contacted by telephone for a 20-minute interview which will deal with your attitudes and opinions on the major issues and problems faced by the Hispanic population. The study results will be strictly confidential, and no respondent will be quoted by name in any of the published reports.

The findings of the study will be published as a series of booklets which will be disseminated to policymakers across the country, and all materials will of course be made available to study participants.

In accordance with our survey methodology, we are selecting a random sample of respondents from our leadership list. If you are contacted, we very much appreciate the time from your busy schedule, and we thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Siobhan Oppenheimer-Nicolau
President

C. Survey Results

1. Taking into account all the different groups in the U.S. Hispanic population, how do you feel about the prospects for Hispanics as a whole over the next decade? Do you feel that their prospects are excellent, good, fair, or poor?

   a. Excellent 31%
   b. Good 48%
   c. Fair 18%
   d. Poor 2%
   e. Not sure/Don't know 1%

2. Compared with other minority groups, how would you rate the prospects for Hispanics as a whole—would you say the prospects for Hispanics are better, worse, or about the same?

   a. Better 65%
   b. About the same 30%
   c. Worse 5%
   d. Not sure/Don't know 0%

3. Overall, what would you say is the *single* most crucial problem facing Hispanics today? **(UNAIDED)**

   Education 35%
   Jobs 24%
   Lack of Political Involvement 11%
   Lack of Hispanic Unity 11%
   Racial Discrimination 7%
   Other 12%

4. I'm going to read a list of issues that affect many Hispanics in the U.S. today. After I read each one, I'd like you to rate the issue on a scale of 1 to 5, where "5" means that you feel this is a very serious problem, and "1" means that you feel that this is not a problem at all. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. Hispanic unemployment rates	73%
b. Issue of Puerto Rican statehood or independence	18%
c. U.S. relations with Cuba	46%
d. Discrimination against Hispanics on the job	56%
e. The amount of education most Hispanics have	62%
f. Family size among Hispanics	32%
g. Loss of Hispanic traditions	41%
h. Problems *of* undocumented workers	64%
i. Problems *caused by* undocumented workers	50%
j. Newspaper, TV coverage, and movies which are unfair to Hispanics	45%
k. Competition with other minorities for social services	32%
l. Hispanics not wanting to adopt American ways and customs	15%
m. Lack of information about Hispanics available to U.S. policymakers	61%
n. Low Hispanic voting rates	68%
o. Problems with the design of affirmative action programs	44%
p. Lack of political cooperation *within* Hispanic groups	56%
q. Lack of political cooperation *among* Hispanic groups	56%
r. Teenage pregnancy among Hispanics	42%
s. Failure of the administration to support affirmative action programs	57%
t. Lack of political cooperation between Hispanics and other minority groups	43%

u. Problems created for Hispanic workers by the large numbers of Anglo women entering the labor force 23%

5. Which Hispanic group do you think enjoys the brightest prospects for the next decade? **(UNAIDED)**

1. Puerto Ricans 7%
2. Chicanos (Mexican Americans) 61%
3. Cubans 10%
4. Other: Specify_____ 5%
5. No particular group 7%
6. Don't know 10%

6. Which group may have the worst prospects? **(UNAIDED)**

1. Puerto Ricans 21%
2. Chicanos (Mexican Americans) 9%
3. Cubans 26%
4. Other: Specify_____ 16%
5. No particular group 8%
6. Don't know 21%

7. Once in the labor force, many Hispanics seem to be unable to climb the job ladder. For example, only about 8% of Hispanic workers hold professional or managerial jobs vs. 15% for the general population. What in your opinion is the *single greatest obstacle* faced by Hispanics who enter the workplace? **(UNAIDED)**

Education 44%
Discrimination 23%
Lack of Confidence, Assertiveness 13%
Language Barriers 3%
Other 17%

8. I'm going to read a list of reasons that some observers say are responsible for the inability of many Hispanics to move up to better jobs. After I read each one, I'd like you to rate the reason on a scale of 1 to 5, where "5" is a very important reason, and "1" means that you feel that this is not a reason at all. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

"4" or "5" Rating

a. Discrimination on the job 52%
b. Difficulty with English 42%
c. Ineffective Affirmative Action programs 48%
d. Lack of education 69%
e. Competition with Blacks, Asians, and other minority groups 24%
f. Competition between Hispanics and Anglo women 29%
g. Tendency of many educated Hispanics to enter fields with limited opportunities 37%
h. Lack of job skills 62%
i. Lack of self-confidence 57%
j. Limited expectations and aspirations 47%
k. Not wanting to adopt American ways 16%
l. Slower growth of public employment in areas such as education, hospital service, welfare, and other agencies 33%
m. Feeling that jobs and U.S. residence are "temporary" 18%

9. How effective do you feel Affirmative Action programs have been for lower-income Hispanics? Has Affirmative Action been very effective, somewhat effective, or not very effective at all?

a. Very effective 7%
b. Somewhat effective 56%
c. Not very effective 33%
d. Not sure/Don't know 4%

10. How about for Hispanics at the middle-income level—has Affirmative Action been very effective, somewhat effective, or not effective at all?

a. Very effective 13%
b. Somewhat effective 64%
c. Not effective 19%
d. Not sure/Don't know 4%

11. I'm going to read two statements about the *majority* of undocumented workers. Please indicate which one comes closest to your own view.

a) Undocumented Hispanic workers are filling undesirable jobs that would otherwise remain vacant.

OR

b) Undocumented Hispanic workers are taking jobs away from Americans.

A 66%
B 28%
Not sure/Don't know 5%

12. Nearly two out of five Hispanic youths are entering adulthood without a high school diploma—a dropout rate which exceeds that of Blacks and is more than double that of the Anglo population. In your opinion, what is the *single greatest obstacle* to better education for Hispanics in the U.S. today? **(UNAIDED)**

Lack of parental concern 19%
Financial obstacles 22%
Problems with educational system 21%
Low motivation, confidence 12%

Language barriers 7%
Other 19%

13. I'm going to read a list of reasons given for the high Hispanic dropout rate. After I read each one, I'd like you to rate the problem on a scale of 1 to 5, where "5" is a very important reason, and "1" means that you feel this is not a reason at all. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. Racial discrimination	31%
b. Teenage pregnancy	27%
c. Difficulty with English	35%
d. Too few bilingual programs	41%
e. Too few Hispanic teachers	49%
f. Parents who are uneducated	66%
g. Many students have to work and help support families	50%
h. Lack of special services for children with serious problems	61%
i. Frequent back-and-forth migration to native country	26%
j. Lower expectations and aspirations of Hispanic students	48%
k. Lack of encouragement by parents	61%
l. Too few parochial schools	21%
m. Bad influences of friends and other youths	53%
n. Poor grades of Hispanic students	46%

14. Many different views of bilingual education programs have been expressed by Hispanic educators. I'm going to read a list of statements, and for each one, I'd like you to tell me if you agree, or disagree. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know
a. Bilingual programs are essential in helping Hispanic children to learn English and to do better in school	83%	16%	1%
b. Bilingual programs are important to maintaining Hispanic traditions	63%	35%	2%
c. Bilingual programs put Hispanic children at a disadvantage because they won't learn English as quickly as they might otherwise	26%	71%	3%
d. Since only a small minority of Hispanic children have serious difficulties with English, bilingual programs may not be worth the effort	24%	73%	3%
e. Bilingual programs will help Hispanic children become more employable	73%	23%	3%
f. Since Hispanics are becoming a very large part of the American population, bilingual programs are equally important for Anglo children	78%	18%	3%

15. Varying degrees of emphasis on English and Spanish have been proposed by various educators. I'm going to read a list of proposals. For each one, please tell me if you agree or disagree. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know
a. All classes should be taught in English	49%	49%	2%
b. Basic subjects should be taught in English, with supplementary courses in Spanish	75%	22%	3%
c. Basic subjects should be taught in Spanish, with supplementary courses in English	25%	73%	2%
d. All classes should be taught in Spanish	1%	97%	2%
e. Children should be allowed to choose whether they want to be taught in English or Spanish	21%	76%	3%

16. Parochial schools have been suggested as an alternative to public school education for Hispanic children. Do you feel parochial schools offer higher quality, lower quality, or do they offer about the same quality of education as public schools?

a. Higher quality 45%
b. About the same 42%
c. Lower quality 9%
d. Not sure/Don't know 3%

17. As a Hispanic, do you believe that Hispanics can climb the economic ladder and still retain Hispanic traditions?

a. Yes	94%
b. No	5%
c. Not sure/Don't know	1%

18. In the 1980 Presidential election, only 30% of Hispanics went to the polls, vs. 51% for Blacks and 61% for the Anglo population. What, in your view, is the single greatest cause of low Hispanic voting participation? **(UNAIDED)**

Lack of political information, awareness	31%
Feeling that voting won't make a difference	41%
Failure of political leadership to address Hispanic problems, seek Hispanic support	9%
Lack of Education	6%
Other	14%

19. I'm going to read some possible reasons for the low Hispanic voter participation rate. After I read each one, I'd like you to rate the statement on a scale of 1 to 5, where "5" is a very important reason, and "1" means that this is not a reason at all: **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. The feeling on the part of Hispanics that voting will not make a difference	73%
b. Discriminatory voting practices against Hispanics	26%
c. Lack of political information	68%
d. Lack of qualified organizers and leaders	65%
e. Distrust of government	55%
f. Hispanic tradition of self-reliance, and not joining groups	36%
g. Poor education of Hispanics	59%

20. Now I'd like to find out how well you feel various institutions serve the needs of Hispanics. I'm going to read a list of institutions, and I'd like you to rate each one on a scale of 1 to 5. A "5" means that you feel the Hispanic population is very well served by that institution, and a "1" means that Hispanics are very poorly served. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. Churches	61%
b. Unions	31%
c. Public Schools	37%
d. Corporations	13%
e. Hispanic newspapers, radio and TV stations	51%
f. Mainstream newspapers, radio and TV stations	17%
g. Charitable organizations	26%
h. Hispanic Civil Rights and Service Organizations	43%
i. Non-Hispanic Civil Rights and Service Organizations	16%
j. Federal government	24%
k. State governments	26%
l. Local governments	35%

21. The Federal government provides many different programs and services. In which areas do you feel Hispanics are *best* served by the Federal government? **(UNAIDED)**

Social Services	34%
Education	13%
Jobs/Job Training	10%
Other areas	43%

22. In which areas do you feel Hispanics are *least* served by the Federal government? **(UNAIDED)**

Education	16%
Jobs	17%
Social Services	10%
Other areas	57%

23. I'm going to read some statements of political interest to many Hispanics. After I read each one, please indicate whether you agree or disagree. **(READ EACH STATEMENT)**

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know
a. The U.S. should normalize relations with Cuba	47%	46%	8%
b. Puerto Rico should become our 51st state	50%	31%	19%
c. Puerto Rico should be granted independence	38%	41%	20%
d. Puerto Rico should remain a commonwealth	29%	51%	20%
e. Amnesty should be granted to all undocumented Hispanics residing in the U.S.	38%	55%	7%
f. Families of undocumented Hispanic workers are entitled to the same social services as American citizens	44%	52%	4%
g. The U.S. should make it easier for undocumented Hispanics to work here	45%	52%	3%

D.
"For Further Information..."

Aspira of America, Inc.
114 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York, New York 10016
(212) 889-6101

Aspira is dedicated to the educational and leadership development of Hispanic and other minority youth. Publications include METAS, a journal of research and policy analysis on education and related social issues that affect Puerto Ricans and other minority groups.

Congressional Hispanic Caucus
House Annex 2—Room 557, Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 226-3430

The Caucus is committed to all legislation meeting the needs of Hispanic Americans. It publishes a monthly newsletter, AVANCE.

Cuban American Legal Defense and Education Fund (CALDEF)
130 East Lewis Street, Post Office Box 10538, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802
(219) 422-5539

CALDEF was organized to help Cuban Americans and other Hispanics gain equal treatment and equal opportunity in education, employment, housing, politics, and justice. CALDEF publishes a monthly, THE HISPANIC NEWSLETTER.

Cuban National Planning Council
300 S.W. Twelfth Avenue—Third Floor, Miami, Florida 33130
(305) 642-3484

The Council's purpose is to identify the social, economic, and cultural needs of Cubans in the United States and to assist Cubans in their adjustment to U.S. society. It publishes a number of brochures and position papers.

Hispanic Higher Education Coalition
20 F Street, N.W.—Second Floor, Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 638-7339

The purpose of the Coalition, composed of 13 national organizations, is to improve the participation and support of Hispanics in postsecondary education. It publishes the quarterly HHEC NEWSLETTER.

Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, Inc.
Post Office Box 1146 RCU, New York, New York 10185
(212) 689-6331

The Institute is a policy analysis organization, focusing on the social problems of Puerto Ricans. Publications include an annual report, LATINO VOTER REGISTRATION IN NEW YORK CITY, as well as a quarterly newsletter, DIALOGO.

Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA)
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.—Suite 707, Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 347-4223

A Hispanic trade union association representing 43 international unions in 80 chapters throughout the United States, LCLAA works to achieve social dignity, economic and political justice, and improved living standards for Hispanic workers. It publishes a newsletter, LA VOZ LATINA, six times a year.

Latino Institute
53 West Jackson Boulevard—Suite 940, Chicago, Illinois 60604
(312) 663-3603

The Institute provides leadership training for parents and for civic organizations. It also researches community problems, including civil rights, employment, housing, and education. It publishes a variety of materials and a monthly newsletter, TELETIPO.

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
2590 Morgan Avenue, Post Office Drawer 5427, Corpus Christi, Texas 78405
(512) 882-8284

The League is the oldest and largest Hispanic organization in the United States, with chapters in every state. It publishes LATINO MAGAZINE and AVISO, a bimonthly newsletter that alerts its membership to legislation or national issues affecting their welfare.

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)
28 Geary Street—Sixth Floor, San Francisco, California 94108
(415) 981-5800

MALDEF is a national advocacy agency that protects the rights of U.S. Hispanics and works to advance Hispanic communities. It publishes a quarterly, the MALDEF NEWSLETTER.

Midwest Voter Registration Education Project
51 North High Street—Suite 300, Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 464-1116

The Project is a non-partisan organization dedicated to increasing the political participation of Hispanics through education and voter registration. It publishes reports and manuals.

National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE)
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.—Suite 405, Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 822-7870

NABE works to publicize quality bilingual curricula in educational programs serving all languages, and to inform

the public about the necessity for such programs. Publications include NABE NEWS, issued five times a year, and NABE JOURNAL, published quarterly.

National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO)
504 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-2536

NALEO was established to improve the health and the economic, social, and educational welfare of Hispanics, to inform Hispanic voters about issues affecting them, and to register Hispanic voters. A newsletter, NALEO WASHINGTON REPORT, is issued quarterly.

National Chicano Council on Higher Education
600 West Twenty-eighth Street—Suite 201, Austin, Texas 78705
(512) 479-8497

Dedicated to serving the needs of all sectors of the Chicano higher education community, the Council publishes a monthly newsletter, LA RED/THE NET.

National Council of La Raza (NCLR)
Twenty F Street, N.W.—Second Floor, Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 628-9600

The Council is a broad-based service organization of 120 affiliated groups. It was chartered to advance the social and economic well-being of Hispanic communities. Publications include policy analyses, statistical summaries, issue briefs, and "Action Alerts" on issues of concern to Hispanics.

National Puerto Rican Coalition (NPRC)
701 North Fairfax Street—Suite 310, Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 684-0020

The Coalition's primary mission is to foster the social, economic, and political well-being of all Puerto Ricans. NPRC publishes public policy studies and produces a monthly newsletter, NPRC REPORTS.

National Puerto Rican Forum, Inc.
450 Park Avenue South—Eleventh Floor, New York, New York 10016
(212) 685-2311

The Forum is dedicated to the socio-economic development of the nation's Hispanic communities. It concentrates on job training and employment programs, and publishes a variety of materials.

Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. (PRLDEF)
95 Madison Avenue—Suite 1304, New York, New York 10016
(212) 532-8470

PRLDEF was created to protect and further the rights of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics. It challenges discrimination in education, voting rights, housing, employment, and health. It's publications include a newsletter, PRLDEF UPDATE.

SER—Jobs for Progress, Inc.
1355 River Bend Drive—Suite 350, Dallas, Texas 75247
(214) 631-3999

SER seeks to serve the economic, social, and educational needs of the nation's Hispanic communities. It publishes a monthly newsletter, SER NETWORK NEWS.

Southwest Voter Registration Education Project
201 North St. Mary's—Suite 501, San Antonio, Texas 78205
(512) 222-0224

The Project is a non-partisan organization dedicated to increasing the political participation of Hispanics through political education and voter registration. It publishes a number of reports, studies, and manuals.

For additional information on Hispanic organizations, see—

- A GUIDE TO HISPANIC ORGANIZATIONS, published by Philip Morris U.S.A., Public Affairs Department, 100 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.
- GUIDEBOOK TO HISPANIC ORGANIZATIONS AND INFORMATION, published by ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.

(Information was extracted from both publications for use in this compilation.)

The Hispanic Policy Development Project

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College of Education, University of New Mexico

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Hispanic Policy Development Project

Volume II

Moving Up to Better Education and Better Jobs

How officials view the obstacles facing Hispanics, their opportunities, and the outlook for the 1980s

The Hispanic Policy Development Project is a non-profit organization—a 501(C)(3)—which encourages the analysis of public policies and policy proposals affecting Hispanics in the United States.

HPDP directs its efforts in particular to the problems of Hispanic youth: secondary education, employment, and access to social services. Compared to other segments of the U.S. population, the Hispanic segment is young. This youthful population is often inadequately served by schools and social service agencies, and many Hispanic young people are insufficiently trained to compete effectively in the job market. To attack these problems, HPDP supports high-level public policy commissions composed of prestigious Hispanics and non-Hispanics; conferences, seminars, and debates around central education and employment issues; both lay and professional analysis and evaluation of specific policy options; and policy analysis competitions open to Hispanic and non-Hispanic scholars as well as Hispanic organizations. HPDP places major emphasis on supporting the work of Hispanic organizations and increasing their access to policy-making networks.

The communication of policy data, recommendations, and proposals is a major part of HPDP's program. Using extensive contacts among representatives of the business and corporate world and among policy makers on both state and national levels, as well as frequent briefing sessions, conferences, and seminars, HPDP seeks to bring its findings to the attention of key groups and leaders throughout the United States. The production of publications is part of that effort.

Hispanic Policy Development Project
717 Fifth Avenue — Twenty-third Floor
New York, New York 10022
(212) 644-6866

1001 Connecticut Avenue NW — Suite 310
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 822-8414

How Officials View the Obstacles Facing Hispanics, Their Opportunities, and the Outlook for the 1980s

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Volume II

MOVING UP TO BETTER EDUCATION AND BETTER JOBS

A National Survey of Elected and Appointed Hispanic Officials

conducted by

The Public Agenda Foundation

for

The Hispanic Policy Development Project

Project Director: **Keith Melville**
Survey Research: **Harvey Lauer**

February 1984

Introduction

THE 1980s have been called "The Decade of Hispanics," and certainly the size of the Hispanic population will increase significantly. What is not so certain is whether there will be a corresponding increase in the influence of Hispanics, and real progress toward solution of the pressing problems that face Hispanics. If that is to happen, the problems must be more sharply defined, proposals to alleviate those problems must be formulated, and realistic solutions must be brought to the attention of public and private policy makers. To that end, the Hispanic Policy Development Project is implementing a program—

- To encourage development of practical proposals to deal with problems facing the Hispanic population;
- To encourage active collaboration between Hispanic and non-Hispanic leaders;
- To increase public awareness of Hispanic problems and to mobilize public influence in support of action on the part of both public and private institutions to deal with the most serious Hispanic issues;
- To increase the resources available to Hispanic organizations and individuals for the purpose of undertaking studies of public policy.

The dissemination of research findings and policy analyses is a HPDP priority. Publication of these two reports that have emerged from the 1983 poll conducted by the Public Agenda Foundation is only the beginning of a major effort which, over time, will produce a series of papers on different aspects of the Hispanic reality.

In its brief preface, below, the Public Agenda Foundation points out that its findings reflect only the opinions of a sample group of elected and appointed Hispanic officials. These are influential individuals whose views deserve to be carefully considered by Hispanics and non-Hispanics alike. But it cannot be assumed that their opinions necessarily are shared by other segments of Hispanic leadership. Nor can it be assumed that the views they express are representative of the Hispanic population as a whole. They are largely educated and successful Hispanics, and they may not reflect the attitudes of the entire Hispanic community.

Some of these findings or their interpretation may provoke disagreement and spark debate. But we feel that presenting these data and provoking debate is a healthy way to dispel stereotypes about Hispanics and to focus public attention on the obstacles that Hispanics continue to face in achieving full integration into this society.

The Public Agenda Foundation was responsible for conducting the survey and interpreting its findings, which are presented in these two reports, **Volume I, Moving Into the Political Mainstream,** and **Volume II, Moving Up to Better Education and Better Jobs.** The questionnaire and a tabulation of responses, together with a copy of the letter sent to potential respondents, can be found in the Appendix. Readers interested in looking more closely at the open-ended questions or in examining the computer printout are invited to query HPDP.

There are many other sources of reliable data about Hispanics. Readers looking for additional information are directed to the list of organizations in the Appendix at the end of this report. The list is by no means all-inclusive, and provides only a starting point for people who want to learn more about Hispanics.

For more information about HPDP's activities and publications, send your request, together with your name and address, to—

The Hispanic Policy Development Project
1001 Connecticut Avenue NW—Suite 310
Washington, D.C. 20036

We welcome your questions and comments.

Siobhan Oppenheimer-Nicolau
President
Hispanic Policy Development Project

The Public Agenda Foundation

Last year the Hispanic Policy Development Project asked us to carry out a challenging assignment, one that to our knowledge had not been done before. We were asked to conduct a national study of elected and appointed Hispanic officials. In June and July interviews were conducted with 448 Hispanic officials, drawn from all levels of government and from each of the major Hispanic subgroups: Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and "other Hispanics." They were asked about the obstacles facing the Hispanic community, its opportunities, and the outlook for the 1980s.

Despite frequently voiced concern about a lack of common cause among Hispanic groups, we found a surprisingly high level of agreement among respondents about priority concerns for the entire Hispanic community. The first report summarizing the results of this study, Volume I, Moving Into the Political Mainstream, focuses on one of those concerns, the as yet unrealized political potential of Hispanics. The second report, Volume II, Moving Up To Better Education and Better Jobs, focuses on the other priority concern so frequently expressed in these interviews. In the estimation of these officials, unemployment and underemployment are at the top of the list of problems facing Hispanics today. Our interviews shed a good deal of light on what Hispanic officials believe to be contributing factors, the role education plays in perpetuating the problem, and what needs to be done to improve matters.

Many of these officials agreed that the very fact that so little information about Hispanics is available to policy makers is itself a serious problem. Studies such as this can help alleviate that problem. What these officials express is a matter of great concern not only to the more than 15 million mainland Hispanics, but also to that much broader group of citizens who want to know more about the nation's fastest growing minority group. We think that the two reports which summarize the study's results should contribute to a better understanding of this unique and increasingly important segment of the U.S. population.

Daniel Yankelovich
President
Public Agenda Foundation

6 East 39th Street New York, NY 10016 212-686-6610

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1.
Study Design and Methodology

Early in 1983, the Hispanic Policy Development Project called on the Public Agenda Foundation—a non-profit, nonpartisan research and education organization—to conduct a national survey of elected and appointed Hispanic officials in the United States. Our goal was to probe the concerns of Hispanic officials at various levels of responsibility and from various regions of the country, and to explore their perceptions of the chief problems facing Hispanics in the 1980s.

The Sample

Our sample of 448 Hispanics—all former or current elected or appointed officials—was drawn from lists compiled by the National Council of La Raza, based on information provided by the National Association of Elected and Appointed Officials, state governments, and state political parties. The sample includes a Member of the U.S. Congress, state legislators, city council members, school board officials, magistrates, and county sheriffs, clerks, treasurers, assessors, and other local office-holders. It was drawn from nine states which together include some 88.7 percent of the nation's Hispanic population as defined by the 1980 Census:

	Total Hispanic Population (000)	Percent of Total Hispanic Population	Percent of Hispanic Leaders in Sample
California	4,066	31	12
Texas	3,531	27	30
New York	1,927	14	7
Florida	1,048	8	3
New Mexico	595	4	24
New Jersey	535	4	1
Arizona	531	4	9
Illinois	671	5	2
Colorado	381	3	12
	13,285	100	100

In addition to the fact that there were far more males in our sample than females (361 males compared to 76 females), our sample differed from the Hispanic population as a whole in another respect. Whereas only about 40 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population was born in this country, fully 92 percent of our sample was born here.

Sample Composition by Ethnic Background

While every effort was made to include in our sample officials from each of the various Hispanic subgroups, because the ranks of elected and appointed officials do not reflect the numerical importance of each of these subgroups, they are not represented proportionately in this study. Here, according to country of descent, is the composition of our sample:

Sample Compositions by Country of Descent

	Number	Percentage
Mexico	231	52
Puerto Rico	35	8
Cuba	18	3
Spain	66	15
Other	98	21
	448	100

Although special efforts were made to locate Hispanic officials from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, two groups are underrepresented. While Puerto Ricans represent 15 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population, Puerto Rican officials comprise only 8 percent of this sample. Similarly, while Cubans

represent some 7 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population, Cubans comprise just 3 percent of our survey respondents.

The disproportionately high number of Mexican Americans in the sample can be attributed in part to their residence in towns and small cities in the Southwest which offer more opportunities for government service than do large cities. On a proportional basis, fewer residents of Los Angeles or New York City hold elective or appointive office compared to those who live in New Mexico, Colorado, or West Texas. That the ratio of Chicano officials to the size of that group is higher than the ratio for Puerto Ricans reflects, in other words, the size of the towns and cities in which these groups live as much as it reflects the effectiveness of their political organizations.

The Questionnaire

An introductory letter was mailed to prospective respondents in April 1983, describing the purpose of the study and the fact that it was being conducted for the Hispanic Policy Development Project.

Telephone interviews, based on a structured questionnaire, were conducted in May, June, and July, 1983. These interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes each. Most of them took place during business hours.

2.
Hispanics and the Job Ladder

Over the past few years, while the Hispanic unemployment rate has been lower than that for Blacks, it has been substantially higher than the White unemployment rate. In 1981, for example, the unemployment rate for Hispanics was 10.8 percent, higher than the rate of 6.9 percent for Whites, yet lower by a considerable margin than the 15.6 percent rate for Blacks.

The average figure for all Hispanic groups obscures the very different incidence of unemployment for various Hispanic groups. Cubans, for example, have lower unemployment rates and generally are more successfully integrated into the economic mainstream than either Mexicans or Puerto Ricans. This can be attributed in part to the fact that the Cuban labor force is somewhat older than other Hispanic groups. Older workers have more marketable skills, more work experience, and thus somewhat lower jobless rates. There are other reasons too for the relative success of Cubans. A higher level of formal education permits them to enter higher-paying occupations with a more secure future. Today, roughly half the Cuban men are employed in generally well-paid managerial and administrative positions in the professions, or in technical or craft jobs.

If Cubans have a fairly secure foothold on the job ladder, that cannot be said of Puerto Ricans. Whether measured by their unemployment rate (which in 1981 was roughly 14 percent, twice the rate for Whites, and substantially higher than the overall rate of 10.8 percent for Hispanics) or their median family income of $11,400 in 1981 (compared to $21,300 for Cuban families), or the kinds of jobs they hold (only five percent of Puerto Rican workers are professionals, compared to 15 percent of Cubans), Puerto Ricans continue to be the most disadvantaged of Hispanic groups, while Chicanos are intermediate between Puerto Ricans, on the one hand, and Cubans and "other Hispanics."

As serious as the unemployment problem is, especially for Puerto Ricans and Chicanos, there is an even more troubling problem for Hispanics. Whether Hispanics can make real progress in the job market depends less on finding employment for those currently out of work than it does on their ability to move up the job ladder to higher status jobs and better pay.

While there are many successful Hispanic business people, bureaucrats, academicians, professionals, and white-collar workers, the fact is that a large group of Hispanics is trapped in the lower occupational tiers of the American economy. Several years ago, when economist Barry Chiswick did a comparative analysis of the economic progress of various immigrant groups, he found that—unlike others—Mexican-Americans of the second and third generations have not significantly improved their economic status. The same generalization apparently applies to Puerto Ricans. While there has been some slight upgrading in the occupational status of Hispanics over the past decade, those changes reflect what has been happening to the entire labor force. As a consequence, the relative status of Hispanics has not improved.

A great many Hispanics continue to work in low-paid jobs which offer little promise of employment security or career advancement. Disproportionately, Hispanics are clustered in blue-collar jobs far from the growth sectors of the labor force. They work as machine operators or laborers, in service occupations such as fast-food operations, or in dead-end jobs as hospital orderlies or security guards. These are the occupations most prone to slack periods and to part-time or piecework arrangements.

This is what we wanted to discuss with the officials we interviewed—why, in their opinion, have Hispanics had so much trouble climbing the job ladder, what the obstacles are, and what role education plays in keeping Hispanics out of the more promising careers. The answers of the 448 Hispanic officials we interviewed represent their sense of the employment problem for Hispanics, and what they believe can be done about it.

3.
How Serious Is Hispanic Unemployment?

The Employment of Hispanics Is the Number One Concern of Hispanic Officials.

- Asked to rank some 21 problems in their order of importance, officials indicated that Hispanic unemployment is their number one concern. Seventy-three percent of the sample agreed that this is either a "serious" or a "very serious" problem.
- Asked to name "the single most crucial problem facing Hispanics today," the most frequent response was jobs. The words of one man, a Puerto Rican who serves as a public engineer in New York, were typical: "Jobs are the biggest problem—unemployment and underemployment. Many Hispanics are in jobs beneath their capabilities."
- The jobs problem is regarded as particularly serious by Puerto Rican officials. Fully 91 percent of the Puerto Ricans in our sample felt that Hispanic unemployment is a "serious" or "very serious" problem, compared to 73 percent of the Chicanos and 61 percent of the Cubans.

Which Are the Most Serious Problems Facing Hispanics?

(Percentage of Respondents Who Feel That This Is a Serious Problem)

1. Hispanic Unemployment 73%
2. Low Hispanic Voting Rates 68%
3. Undocumented Workers 64%
4. Hispanic Education 62%
5. Lack of Information About Hispanics . . . 61%

- Those who identify themselves as liberals are far more concerned about the Hispanic unemployment problem. Eighty percent of our self-defined liberal respondents expressed serious concern about Hispanic unemployment, compared to 58 percent of the self-defined conservatives.

4.
Moving Up the Job Ladder: What's the Problem?

When we asked respondents why many Hispanics have had trouble moving up the job ladder, we found very **little** support for several factors commonly discussed as obstacles to Hispanic advancement. Fewer than one in five of our respondents, for example, agreed that the feeling among some Hispanics that jobs and U.S. residence are "temporary" is a substantial factor holding them back in the workplace. Fewer than a quarter of our respondents felt that competition with Blacks and other minorities is keeping Hispanics from moving up the job ladder. Only 37 percent of our respondents regard the tendency of many educated Hispanics to enter fields with limited opportunities for advancement as a serious obstacle.

There were, however, four factors that a majority of our respondents considered serious obstacles:

• Lack of Education

By a substantial margin, Hispanic officials feel that lack of education is the main obstacle preventing Hispanics from climbing the job ladder. This concern about education was voiced in several parts of the study; it was, for example, one of the two most common responses when we asked respondents at the beginning of the interview to identify the single most crucial problem. And it was regarded as a serious problem by more than two-thirds of the officials of each Hispanic subgroup. (We examine the education problem and what might be done about it in greater detail in the following pages of this report.)

• Lack of Job Skills

Second only to lack of education was concern about lack of job skills. This is regarded by more than six out of ten officials from each of the Hispanic subgroups as an important obstacle. It is a problem about which many officials commented. "Many Hispanics are simply not skilled for the trades or professions," as one Hispanic-American put it. "What's really needed," said a Puerto Rican who is currently a member of a community school board in New York City, "is to provide opportunities for Hispanics to learn professional and managerial skills."

Four Reasons Why Hispanics Have Had Trouble Climbing the Job Ladder: Percent Who See Each as a Serious Problem

1. Lack of Education 69%
2. Lack of Job Skills 62%
3. Lack of Self-Confidence 57%
4. Discrimination on the Job 52%

• Lack of Self-Confidence

A third factor frequently mentioned was "lack of self-confidence." While Cubans do not regard this as a substantial problem, officials from each of the other Hispanic groups do. Female respondents were particularly inclined to emphasize the importance of self-confidence. One woman, a county clerk in New Mexico, said, "A lot of Hispanics don't have the confidence to express themselves, or to be aggressive when they should be." Another woman, a district court clerk from New Mexico, pointed to the problem of Hispanics who won't take a chance to move up. "I think...once

Hispanics get a job, they want to keep it for security. They won't take a chance of losing the job."

- **Discrimination on the Job**

While it is not regarded by Hispanic officials as one of the greatest obstacles to Hispanic advancement in the workplace, discrimination against Hispanics is still regarded by a majority as a serious problem. It is considered particularly important by Puerto Rican officials, four out of five of whom regard it as a serious problem. One Puerto Rican from Brooklyn described what he regards as a pattern of discriminatory promotion practices. There is typically, as he sees it, a kind of "gentlemen's agreement." "An Anglo and a Hispanic are hired to do the same job. While the Hispanic is kept in the dark by his co-workers, the Anglo is well-advised and well-trained. Then when a promotion is offered, it goes to the Anglo because he seems more on the ball. Many Puerto Ricans tend to accept that. When they're told—subtly or crudely—that they're not wanted further up the job ladder, they don't fight back. We've been taught to believe that it's bad manners to force yourself where you are not wanted." While some comments were made about discriminatory hiring practices, we did not find great dissatisfaction with Affirmative Action programs. A majority of Hispanic officials see Affirmative Action programs as at least somewhat effective.

5.
The Matter of Undocumented Workers

Illegal immigration and undocumented workers have been prominent in the news recently as Congress has tried to address the question of reforming the immigration laws. What finally prompted Congress to delay immigration law reform was the "employer sanctions" proposal—a controversial clause in the Simpson-Mazzoli bill which would make it a crime to hire an immigrant who is here illegally. Much of the debate over that bill's impact centered on the issue of what measures can be taken to control illegal immigration, and which of those measures—such as "employer sanctions"—might have the unintended effect of tempting employers to discriminate against anyone who "looks Hispanic."

So we were interested in probing the sentiments of Hispanic officials on this issue. How concerned are they about the problem of undocumented workers? And what do they think about the problems caused for Hispanics in the labor force by undocumented workers?

• The Problem of Undocumented Workers

This is rated a serious issue by some two-thirds (64 percent) of the entire sample. Not surprisingly, considering its immediate impact on Mexican Americans and on the labor force in those Southwest states where much of the Mexican American population is concentrated, Chicanos are most concerned about it. More than seven out of 10 (71 percent) Mexican American officials consider it to be a serious problem. Among the several Hispanic subgroups, Puerto Ricans are least concerned about it—with 48 percent of them regarding it as a serious problem.

• Should the United States Make It Easier for Undocumented Workers To Work?

Judging by responses to this question, there is no clear sentiment among elected and appointed Hispanic officials about whether amnesty should be granted to undocumented Hispanics living in this country. Among the Puerto Ricans and Cubans we interviewed, a slight majority (55 percent and 54 percent respectively) favored granting amnesty. Among Mexican Americans and Hispanics indicating U.S. descent, a slight majority (56 percent and 55 percent respectively) opposed it. There are greater differences along liberal-conservative lines on this question than there are among the various Hispanic subgroups. Among the self-defined conservatives, 64 percent are opposed to granting amnesty to undocumented workers, while only 25 percent favor it. Liberals, however, favor amnesty by a margin of 55 to 33 percent. It would appear that this is an issue about which many Hispanics are ambivalent. Because there are persuasive arguments for and against granting amnesty to undocumented workers, no clearly formed majority sentiment about what should be done has emerged.

6.
Lack of Education – The Biggest Obstacle of All

• Lack of Education is Regarded as the Chief Obstacle That Keeps Hispanics From Climbing the Job Ladder

It is regarded as a serious problem by a two-thirds majority of the Hispanic officials from each subgroup we interviewed. That fact and the fact that education was frequently mentioned by our respondents at the beginning of the interview, in answer to an open-ended question about the single most crucial problem facing Hispanics today, indicate how prominent an issue education is. "We need to show our youths that education is the **only** way to beat the system," said one woman, the Mexican American mayor of a small town in Texas. "We've got to emphasize, starting at the grade school level, that getting a good education is **very** important."

• A Particularly Pressing Problem

Lack of education is considered a particularly pressing problem by the younger Hispanic leaders we interviewed, by those who are better educated, and by Puerto Rican leaders.

• The Hispanic Stake in the Schools

Because fertility rates of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans are much higher than those of the American population as a whole, Hispanics will continue for the foreseeable future to have a special stake in the schools. The schools—which will contain a disproportionate number of Hispanic children—in turn will have to be particularly well attuned to the needs and the progress of Hispanic children. The emphasis that Hispanic officials place on education may be regarded as a reflection of their real concern about how well the schools will serve their community in the years to come.

7.
The High Drop-Out Rate: Diagnosis and Prescription

Failure to complete high school is one of the major obstacles that keeps people from stepping on the first rung of a career ladder leading to well-paid and secure employment. The evidence points quite dramatically to the fact that many Hispanic teenagers don't complete high school—and their failure in this regard keeps them in the lowest paid and least promising parts of the labor force.

While the average educational attainment of Hispanic youth has increased over the past decade, their drop-out rate is still significantly higher than it is for other groups. In 1980, for example, while 71 percent of the Anglo population and 51 percent of the Black population had completed at least four years of high school, only 45 percent of Hispanics had done so. For Puerto Ricans, the rate was even lower—38 percent.

In this respect, as with income and job status, Cubans fare quite well. On average, they are more likely to have completed high school and some college than Anglo youths. But among other Hispanics, the situation is decidedly different. Two out of five Hispanic youths enter adulthood without a high school diploma, and nearly half of all Puerto Rican youth do not complete high school.

Many of the Hispanic officials we interviewed expressed great concern about Hispanic drop-outs. "The lack of a good education will really hold you back," as one woman, a Puerto Rican member of a community school board in New York, put it. "Right now, more of our kids are dropping out than going on to college, and they're paying the price for it."

Many explanations have been offered to explain the high drop-out rate among Hispanics—including language barriers, racial discrimination, pressing economic problems, back-and-forth migration patterns, low educational aspirations, and other factors. We wanted to find out which of these factors are regarded by elected and appointed Hispanic officials as the main factors explaining the high drop-out rate.

We found that several common explanations for that high drop-out rate are not considered by most Hispanic officials to be very convincing:

There Is No Consensus Among Hispanic Officials that Language Barriers Are a Significant Cause of School Drop-Outs. Among the fourteen factors that the Hispanic officials in our sample considered as causes of the high drop-out rate, two relating to language barriers—difficulty with English, and too few bilingual programs—were **not** considered significant by a majority of our sample. Only about a third of the sample ranked "difficulty with English" as an important factor contributing to the drop-out rate. Neither was there any consensus among most Hispanic officials that the absence of bilingual programs in schools contributes significantly to the drop-out rate. Puerto Rican officials were the exception: two-thirds were convinced that this **is** an important factor. (It is worth noting here that 92 percent of our sample was born in the United States, which may account for a tendency to play down language barriers.)

Discrimination in the Schools Is Not Considered a Serious Problem, or One that Contributes Significantly To the Drop-Out Problem. Discrimination is regarded by less than a third of our sample as a serious problem in the schools, or one that contributes significantly to the drop-out problem. Although Cubans and Puerto Ricans are somewhat more concerned about it, less than a third of our total Hispanic sample regard discrimination as an important factor.

A Pattern of Back-and-Forth Migration to the Native Country Is Not Regarded as a Significant Cause of School Drop-Outs. Nationwide, foreign-born Hispanic youths have a higher drop-out rate than do those born in the United States. So it is sometimes assumed that the Hispanic families' pattern of back-and-forth migration may contribute significantly to the drop-out problem. Our sample, however, does not regard this as a significant factor. Fewer than one-third

see it as an important factor in explaining the drop-out rate. While regarded as slightly more of a problem by Puerto Ricans and Cubans than others, only about three out of 10 of those in our sample considered this a significant factor.

Major Reasons For the High Drop-Out Rate

• Hispanic Officials Are Critical of the Schools for Not Providing Special Services for Children with Serious Problems

Among the fourteen factors that we asked Hispanic officials to consider as causes of the high drop-out rate, the second most frequently mentioned was a lack of special services for Hispanic children with special problems—such as pregnant teenagers, youths with drug problems, those with learning disabilities, and those from needy families. There is real concern about the fact that schools are not sufficiently attentive to children with special problems. Some two-thirds of our sample agreed that this is an important cause of the drop-out rate. In their responses to this question, Puerto Ricans were more critical of the schools than other Hispanic leaders.

• Hispanic Officials Consider the Family To Be the Key to Educational Success

Two of the factors most frequently mentioned as causes of the high drop-out rate relate to the educational level and the economic situation of the family. The single most frequently cited factor was parents who are uneducated, mentioned by two-thirds (66 percent) of the sample. The Cuban officials we interviewed did not express much concern about the family's role, but it was considered by Hispanic officials from each of the other ethnic groups as a most significant factor. In their comments, many officials linked the low educational levels of parents to the low educational aspirations and expectations of their children.

• Almost as Frequently Mentioned Was a Lack of Encouragement by Parents

Again, the Cubans were an exception, but the other groups agreed that this is a significant factor in explaining why so many Hispanic youths do not continue in school. "If Hispanic kids are going to stay in school," a Puerto Rican community school board member from New York City said, "their parents are going to have to be more involved in the schools, and more supportive of what their children are doing there."

• A Majority of the Hispanic Officials Consider the Fact that Many Students Have To Work To Help Support Their Families An Important Contributing Factor

Studies have shown that Hispanic high school students more frequently drop out because of family financial difficulties than do students from other backgrounds, and that they are more often employed while in school. It would appear, then, that the necessity of supplementing family income is the reason many Hispanic youths drop out. A Cuban member of the school board in Dade County, Florida, said many Hispanics are caught in a vicious circle: "In the first place,the head of household often doesn't have a very good job, or adequate wages. Because of that, the teen-aged children have to quit school to go to work. And because they never finish the high school diploma, it's harder in turn for them to get a good job and good wages."

8.
The Language Barrier: the Persistent Question of Bilingual Education

Several months ago, when reauthorization hearings began in Congress on the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, this issue once again became a topic of bitter debate. Critics of bilingual instruction repeated what they have said so often in the past, that if we adopt a policy of bilingual instruction, it will lead to a divided, bilingual society. They argue that encouraging those who do not speak English to retain their native language is a disservice to them, and could prove a fatal handicap in a society where well-honed English language skills are increasingly important in the job market.

Sentiments are equally strong on the other side of this argument. The fundamental concern of supporters of bilingual education is that since so many Hispanics come from homes in which English is not the main language, their children are at a disadvantage in classrooms where proficiency in English is taken for granted. They feel that it makes sense to teach students some subjects in a language they understand while they are acquiring a proficiency in English. Many people feel that literacy in both Spanish and English will improve students' job prospects.

We wanted to learn how important Hispanic officials perceive the language barrier to be, both in the classroom and the workplace, and how much emphasis they think should be placed on bilingual education.

Although a majority of respondents did not rank language as an important factor contributing to the drop-out rate, they made frequent references to language when we asked them about the major obstacles facing Hispanics. As one Hispanic official from New York said, "Because of their inability to comprehend and use the English language, many Hispanics simply don't understand what is happening in the schools."

• How Important are Bilingual Programs in the Schools?

Once again, although the lack of language skills or an insufficient number of bilingual programs are **not** considered major reasons for the Hispanic drop-out rate, our respondents displayed strong support for bilingual education. Seventy-one percent of those in our sample **disagree** with the statement "Bilingual programs put Hispanic children at a disadvantage." A 73-percent majority feels that such programs are worth the time and effort they require. Similarly, about three out of four Hispanic officials feel that bilingual literacy makes Hispanics more employable. And there is a strong conviction among Hispanic officials that bilingual programs are an effective way to help Hispanic children do better in school and in the workplace.

• How Much of an Emphasis Should Be Placed on Spanish-Language Instruction?

Some of the officials we interviewed were outspoken critics of bilingual programs: "We shouldn't make any compromises on this question—no bilingual programs," said one man, the director of investigative services in a city in Florida. "Everything should be taught in English." But **the majority of our officials displayed a moderate position on the issue.** Only a tiny fraction (1 percent) prefer the radical option of offering all courses in Spanish. A 75-percent majority favors the teaching of basic subjects in English, with supplementary courses in Spanish.

• Support for a Moderate Bilingual Position

In summary, although very few elected and appointed Hispanic officials see language barriers as among the most important causes of the dropout rate or unemployment, most of them support moderate bilingual instruction as the most effective means of making progress in the schools, and **they also feel that bilingual literacy enhances a student's job opportunities.**

Appendix

A. Composition of the Sample

Age

Under 35	20%
35-49	50%
50-64	27%
Refused	3%

Gender

Male	83%
Female	17%

Education

Graduate Degree or Law Degree	22%
College Graduate	22%
Some College	32%
High School Graduate	20%
Some High School or Less	4%

Political Affiliation

Liberal	28%
Conservative	20%
Middle of the road	48%
Other	2%
Don't know	2%

Country of Birth

U.S.	92%
Outside U.S.	8%

Country of Descent

Mexico	53%
U.S.	18%
Spain	15%
Puerto Rico	8%
Cuba	3%
Other	3%

Religion

Catholic	86%
Protestant	6%
Other	5%
None	2%
Refused	1%

B. Introductory Letter

Hispanic Policy Development Project

April _____, 1983

Your name has been selected from a national list of elected Hispanic officials for possible participation in a study sponsored by the Hispanic Policy Development Project.

The objective of HPDP is to provide policymakers with accurate, unbiased data on the Hispanic population so that policy decisions—crucial to the well-being and future productivity of this growing population—can be made on facts rather than stereotype, ignorance, or indifference.

This is *not* an academic study. With your help, we hope to broaden the knowledge of the non-Hispanic leader-

ship about Hispanic problems and concerns, as well as increase Hispanic participation in the policymaking process.

Within the next several weeks, you may be contacted by telephone for a 20-minute interview which will deal with your attitudes and opinions on the major issues and problems faced by the Hispanic population. The study results will be strictly confidential, and no respondent will be quoted by name in any of the published reports.

The findings of the study will be published as a series of booklets which will be disseminated to policymakers across the country, and all materials will of course be made available to study participants.

In accordance with our survey methodology, we are selecting a random sample of respondents from our leadership list. If you are contacted, we very much appreciate the time from your busy schedule, and we thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Siobhan Oppenheimer-Nicolau
President

C. Survey Results

1. Taking into account all the different groups in the U.S. Hispanic population, how do you feel about the prospects for Hispanics as a whole over the next decade? Do you feel that their prospects are excellent, good, fair, or poor?

   a. Excellent 31%
   b. Good 48%
   c. Fair 18%
   d. Poor 2%
   e. Not sure/Don't know 1%

2. Compared with other minority groups, how would you rate the prospects for Hispanics as a whole—would you say the prospects for Hispanics are better, worse, or about the same?

   a. Better 65%
   b. About the same 30%
   c. Worse 5%
   d. Not sure/Don't know 0%

3. Overall, what would you say is the *single* most crucial problem facing Hispanics today? **(UNAIDED)**

   Education 35%
   Jobs 24%
   Lack of Political Involvement 11%
   Lack of Hispanic Unity 11%
   Racial Discrimination 7%
   Other 12%

4. I'm going to read a list of issues that affect many Hispanics in the U.S. today. After I read each one, I'd like you to rate the issue on a scale of 1 to 5, where "5" means that you feel this is a very serious problem, and "1" means that you feel that this is not a problem at all. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. Hispanic unemployment rates	73%
b. Issue of Puerto Rican statehood or independence	18%
c. U.S. relations with Cuba	46%
d. Discrimination against Hispanics on the job	56%
e. The amount of education most Hispanics have	62%
f. Family size among Hispanics	32%
g. Loss of Hispanic traditions	41%
h. Problems *of* undocumented workers	64%
i. Problems *caused by* undocumented workers	50%
j. Newspaper, TV coverage, and movies which are unfair to Hispanics	45%
k. Competition with other minorities for social services	32%
l. Hispanics not wanting to adopt American ways and customs	15%
m. Lack of information about Hispanics available to U.S. policymakers	61%
n. Low Hispanic voting rates	68%
o. Problems with the design of affirmative action programs	44%
p. Lack of political cooperation *within* Hispanic groups	56%
q. Lack of political cooperation *among* Hispanic groups	56%
r. Teenage pregnancy among Hispanics	42%
s. Failure of the administration to support affirmative action programs	57%
t. Lack of political cooperation between Hispanics and other minority groups	43%

u. Problems created for Hispanic workers by the large numbers of Anglo women entering the labor force 23%

5. Which Hispanic group do you think enjoys the brightest prospects for the next decade? **(UNAIDED)**

1. Puerto Ricans 7%
2. Chicanos (Mexican Americans) 61%
3. Cubans 10%
4. Other: Specify_____ 5%
5. No particular group 7%
6. Don't know 10%

6. Which group may have the worst prospects? **(UNAIDED)**

1. Puerto Ricans 21%
2. Chicanos (Mexican Americans) 9%
3. Cubans 26%
4. Other: Specify_____ 16%
5. No particular group 8%
6. Don't know 21%

7. Once in the labor force, many Hispanics seem to be unable to climb the job ladder. For example, only about 8% of Hispanic workers hold professional or managerial jobs vs. 15% for the general population. What in your opinion is the *single greatest obstacle* faced by Hispanics who enter the workplace? **(UNAIDED)**

Education 44%
Discrimination 23%
Lack of Confidence, Assertiveness 13%
Language Barriers 3%
Other 17%

8. I'm going to read a list of reasons that some observers say are responsible for the inability of many Hispanics to move up to better jobs. After I read each one, I'd like you to rate the reason on a scale of 1 to 5, where "5" is a very important reason, and "1" means that you feel that this is not a reason at all. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. Discrimination on the job	52%
b. Difficulty with English	42%
c. Ineffective Affirmative Action programs	48%
d. Lack of education	69%
e. Competition with Blacks, Asians, and other minority groups	24%
f. Competition between Hispanics and Anglo women	29%
g. Tendency of many educated Hispanics to enter fields with limited opportunities	37%
h. Lack of job skills	62%
i. Lack of self-confidence	57%
j. Limited expectations and aspirations	47%
k. Not wanting to adopt American ways	16%
l. Slower growth of public employment in areas such as education, hospital service, welfare, and other agencies	33%
m. Feeling that jobs and U.S. residence are "temporary"	18%

9. How effective do you feel Affirmative Action programs have been for lower-income Hispanics? Has Affirmative Action been very effective, somewhat effective, or not very effective at all?

a. Very effective 7%
b. Somewhat effective 56%
c. Not very effective 33%
d. Not sure/Don't know 4%

10. How about for Hispanics at the middle-income level—has Affirmative Action been very effective, somewhat effective, or not effective at all?

a. Very effective 13%
b. Somewhat effective 64%
c. Not effective 19%
d. Not sure/Don't know 4%

11. I'm going to read two statements about the *majority* of undocumented workers. Please indicate which one comes closest to your own view.

a) Undocumented Hispanic workers are filling undesirable jobs that would otherwise remain vacant.

OR

b) Undocumented Hispanic workers are taking jobs away from Americans.

A 66%
B 28%
Not sure/Don't know 5%

12. Nearly two out of five Hispanic youths are entering adulthood without a high school diploma—a dropout rate which exceeds that of Blacks and is more than double that of the Anglo population. In your opinion, what is the *single greatest obstacle* to better education for Hispanics in the U.S. today? **(UNAIDED)**

Lack of parental concern 19%
Financial obstacles 22%
Problems with educational system 21%
Low motivation, confidence 12%

Language barriers 7%
Other 19%

13. I'm going to read a list of reasons given for the high Hispanic dropout rate. After I read each one, I'd like you to rate the problem on a scale of 1 to 5, where "5" is a very important reason, and "1" means that you feel this is not a reason at all. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. Racial discrimination	31%
b. Teenage pregnancy	27%
c. Difficulty with English	35%
d. Too few bilingual programs	41%
e. Too few Hispanic teachers	49%
f. Parents who are uneducated	66%
g. Many students have to work and help support families	50%
h. Lack of special services for children with serious problems	61%
i. Frequent back-and-forth migration to native country	26%
j. Lower expectations and aspirations of Hispanic students	48%
k. Lack of encouragement by parents	61%
l. Too few parochial schools	21%
m. Bad influences of friends and other youths	53%
n. Poor grades of Hispanic students	46%

14. Many different views of bilingual education programs have been expressed by Hispanic educators. I'm going to read a list of statements, and for each one, I'd like you to tell me if you agree, or disagree. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know
a. Bilingual programs are essential in helping Hispanic children to learn English and to do better in school	83%	16%	1%
b. Bilingual programs are important to maintaining Hispanic traditions	63%	35%	2%
c. Bilingual programs put Hispanic children at a disadvantage because they won't learn English as quickly as they might otherwise	26%	71%	3%
d. Since only a small minority of Hispanic children have serious difficulties with English, bilingual programs may not be worth the effort	24%	73%	3%
e. Bilingual programs will help Hispanic children become more employable	73%	23%	3%
f. Since Hispanics are becoming a very large part of the American population, bilingual programs are equally important for Anglo children	78%	18%	3%

15. Varying degrees of emphasis on English and Spanish have been proposed by various educators. I'm going to read a list of proposals. For each one, please tell me if you agree or disagree. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know
a. All classes should be taught in English	49%	49%	2%
b. Basic subjects should be taught in English, with supplementary courses in Spanish	75%	22%	3%
c. Basic subjects should be taught in Spanish, with supplementary courses in English	25%	73%	2%
d. All classes should be taught in Spanish	1%	97%	2%
e. Children should be allowed to choose whether they want to be taught in English or Spanish	21%	76%	3%

16. Parochial schools have been suggested as an alternative to public school education for Hispanic children. Do you feel parochial schools offer higher quality, lower quality, or do they offer about the same quality of education as public schools?

a. Higher quality 45%
b. About the same 42%
c. Lower quality 9%
d. Not sure/Don't know 3%

17. As a Hispanic, do you believe that Hispanics can climb the economic ladder and still retain Hispanic traditions?

a. Yes	94%
b. No	5%
c. Not sure/Don't know	1%

18. In the 1980 Presidential election, only 30% of Hispanics went to the polls, vs. 51% for Blacks and 61% for the Anglo population. What, in your view, is the single greatest cause of low Hispanic voting participation? **(UNAIDED)**

Lack of political information, awareness	31%
Feeling that voting won't make a difference	41%
Failure of political leadership to address Hispanic problems, seek Hispanic support	9%
Lack of Education	6%
Other	14%

19. I'm going to read some possible reasons for the low Hispanic voter participation rate. After I read each one, I'd like you to rate the statement on a scale of 1 to 5, where "5" is a very important reason, and "1" means that this is not a reason at all: **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. The feeling on the part of Hispanics that voting will not make a difference	73%
b. Discriminatory voting practices against Hispanics	26%
c. Lack of political information	68%
d. Lack of qualified organizers and leaders	65%
e. Distrust of government	55%
f. Hispanic tradition of self-reliance, and not joining groups	36%
g. Poor education of Hispanics	59%

20. Now I'd like to find out how well you feel various institutions serve the needs of Hispanics. I'm going to read a list of institutions, and I'd like you to rate each one on a scale of 1 to 5. A "5" means that you feel the Hispanic population is very well served by that institution, and a "1" means that Hispanics are very poorly served. **(READ EACH ITEM)**

	"4" or "5" Rating
a. Churches	61%
b. Unions	31%
c. Public Schools	37%
d. Corporations	13%
e. Hispanic newspapers, radio and TV stations	51%
f. Mainstream newspapers, radio and TV stations	17%
g. Charitable organizations	26%
h. Hispanic Civil Rights and Service Organizations	43%
i. Non-Hispanic Civil Rights and Service Organizations	16%
j. Federal government	24%
k. State governments	26%
l. Local governments	35%

21. The Federal government provides many different programs and services. In which areas do you feel Hispanics are *best* served by the Federal government? **(UNAIDED)**

Social Services	34%
Education	13%
Jobs/Job Training	10%
Other areas	43%

22. In which areas do you feel Hispanics are *least* served by the Federal government? **(UNAIDED)**

Education	16%
Jobs	17%
Social Services	10%
Other areas	57%

23. I'm going to read some statements of political interest to many Hispanics. After I read each one, please indicate whether you agree or disagree. **(READ EACH STATEMENT)**

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure Don't Know
a. The U.S. should normalize relations with Cuba	47%	46%	8%
b. Puerto Rico should become our 51st state	50%	31%	19%
c. Puerto Rico should be granted independence	38%	41%	20%
d. Puerto Rico should remain a commonwealth	29%	51%	20%
e. Amnesty should be granted to all undocumented Hispanics residing in the U.S.	38%	55%	7%
f. Families of undocumented Hispanic workers are entitled to the same social services as American citizens	44%	52%	4%
g. The U.S. should make it easier for undocumented Hispanics to work here	45%	52%	3%

D.
"For Further Information..."

Aspira of America, Inc.
114 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York, New York 10016
(212) 889-6101

Aspira is dedicated to the educational and leadership development of Hispanic and other minority youth. Publications include METAS, a journal of research and policy analysis on education and related social issues that affect Puerto Ricans and other minority groups.

Congressional Hispanic Caucus
House Annex 2—Room 557, Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 226-3430

The Caucus is committed to all legislation meeting the needs of Hispanic Americans. It publishes a monthly newsletter, AVANCE.

Cuban American Legal Defense and Education Fund (CALDEF)
130 East Lewis Street, Post Office Box 10538, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802
(219) 422-5539

CALDEF was organized to help Cuban Americans and other Hispanics gain equal treatment and equal opportunity in education, employment, housing, politics, and justice. CALDEF publishes a monthly, THE HISPANIC NEWSLETTER.

Cuban National Planning Council
300 S.W. Twelfth Avenue—Third Floor, Miami, Florida 33130
(305) 642-3484

The Council's purpose is to identify the social, economic, and cultural needs of Cubans in the United States and to assist Cubans in their adjustment to U.S. society. It publishes a number of brochures and position papers.

Hispanic Higher Education Coalition
20 F Street, N.W.—Second Floor, Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 638-7339

The purpose of the Coalition, composed of 13 national organizations, is to improve the participation and support of Hispanics in postsecondary education. It publishes the quarterly HHEC NEWSLETTER.

Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, Inc.
Post Office Box 1146 RCU, New York, New York 10185
(212) 689-6331

The Institute is a policy analysis organization, focusing on the social problems of Puerto Ricans. Publications include an annual report, LATINO VOTER REGISTRATION IN NEW YORK CITY, as well as a quarterly newsletter, DIALOGO.

Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA)
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.—Suite 707, Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 347-4223

A Hispanic trade union association representing 43 international unions in 80 chapters throughout the United States, LCLAA works to achieve social dignity, economic and political justice, and improved living standards for Hispanic workers. It publishes a newsletter, LA VOZ LATINA, six times a year.

Latino Institute
53 West Jackson Boulevard—Suite 940, Chicago, Illinois 60604
(312) 663-3603

The Institute provides leadership training for parents and for civic organizations. It also researches community problems, including civil rights, employment, housing, and education. It publishes a variety of materials and a monthly newsletter, TELETIPO.

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
2590 Morgan Avenue, Post Office Drawer 5427, Corpus Christi, Texas 78405
(512) 882-8284

The League is the oldest and largest Hispanic organization in the United States, with chapters in every state. It publishes LATINO MAGAZINE and AVISO, a bimonthly newsletter that alerts its membership to legislation or national issues affecting their welfare.

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)
28 Geary Street—Sixth Floor, San Francisco, California 94108
(415) 981-5800

MALDEF is a national advocacy agency that protects the rights of U.S. Hispanics and works to advance Hispanic communities. It publishes a quarterly, the MALDEF NEWSLETTER.

Midwest Voter Registration Education Project
51 North High Street—Suite 300, Columbus, Ohio 43215
(614) 464-1116

The Project is a non-partisan organization dedicated to increasing the political participation of Hispanics through education and voter registration. It publishes reports and manuals.

National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE)
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.—Suite 405, Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 822-7870

NABE works to publicize quality bilingual curricula in educational programs serving all languages, and to inform

the public about the necessity for such programs. Publications include NABE NEWS, issued five times a year, and NABE JOURNAL, published quarterly.

National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO)
504 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-2536

NALEO was established to improve the health and the economic, social, and educational welfare of Hispanics, to inform Hispanic voters about issues affecting them, and to register Hispanic voters. A newsletter, NALEO WASHINGTON REPORT, is issued quarterly.

National Chicano Council on Higher Education
600 West Twenty-eighth Street—Suite 201, Austin, Texas 78705
(512) 479-8497

Dedicated to serving the needs of all sectors of the Chicano higher education community, the Council publishes a monthly newsletter, LA RED/THE NET.

National Council of La Raza (NCLR)
Twenty F Street, N.W.—Second Floor, Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 628-9600

The Council is a broad-based service organization of 120 affiliated groups. It was chartered to advance the social and economic well-being of Hispanic communities. Publications include policy analyses, statistical summaries, issue briefs, and "Action Alerts" on issues of concern to Hispanics.

National Puerto Rican Coalition (NPRC)
701 North Fairfax Street—Suite 310, Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 684-0020

The Coalition's primary mission is to foster the social, economic, and political well-being of all Puerto Ricans. NPRC publishes public policy studies and produces a monthly newsletter, NPRC REPORTS.

National Puerto Rican Forum, Inc.
450 Park Avenue South—Eleventh Floor, New York, New York 10016
(212) 685-2311

The Forum is dedicated to the socio-economic development of the nation's Hispanic communities. It concentrates on job training and employment programs, and publishes a variety of materials.

Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. (PRLDEF)
95 Madison Avenue—Suite 1304, New York, New York 10016
(212) 532-8470

PRLDEF was created to protect and further the rights of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics. It challenges discrimination in education, voting rights, housing, employment, and health. It's publications include a newsletter, PRLDEF UPDATE.

SER—Jobs for Progress, Inc.
1355 River Bend Drive—Suite 350, Dallas, Texas 75247
(214) 631-3999

SER seeks to serve the economic, social, and educational needs of the nation's Hispanic communities. It publishes a monthly newsletter, SER NETWORK NEWS.

Southwest Voter Registration Education Project
201 North St. Mary's—Suite 501, San Antonio, Texas 78205
(512) 222-0224

The Project is a non-partisan organization dedicated to increasing the political participation of Hispanics through political education and voter registration. It publishes a number of reports, studies, and manuals.

For additional information on Hispanic organizations, see—

- A GUIDE TO HISPANIC ORGANIZATIONS, published by Philip Morris U.S.A., Public Affairs Department, 100 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.
- GUIDEBOOK TO HISPANIC ORGANIZATIONS AND INFORMATION, published by ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.

(Information was extracted from both publications for use in this compilation.)

The Hispanic Policy Development Project

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National Council of La Raza

RP5300-2134

National Council of La Raza

Recent Hispanic Polls: A Summary of Results

Hispanic Policy Development Project, Publisher

The Hispanic Policy Development Project is a non-profit organization—a 501(C)(3)—which encourages the analysis of public policies and policy proposals affecting Hispanics in the United States.

HPDP directs its efforts in particular to the problems of Hispanic youth: secondary education, employment, and access to social services. Compared to other segments of the U.S. population, the Hispanic segment is young. This youthful population is often inadequately served by schools and social service agencies, and many Hispanic young people are insufficiently trained to compete effectively in the job market. To attack these problems, HPDP supports high-level public policy commissions composed of prestigious Hispanics and non-Hispanics; conferences, seminars, and debates around central education and employment issues; both lay and professional analysis and evaluation of specific policy options; and policy analysis competitions open to Hispanic and non-Hispanic scholars as well as Hispanic organizations. HPDP places major emphasis on supporting the work of Hispanic organizations and increasing their access to policy-making networks.

The communication of policy data, recommendations, and proposals is a major part of HPDP's program. Using extensive contacts among representatives of the business and corporate world and among policy makers on both state and national levels, as well as frequent briefing sessions, conferences, and seminars, HPDP seeks to bring its findings to the attention of key groups and leaders throughout the United States. The production of publications is part of that effort.

Hispanic Policy Development Project
717 Fifth Avenue — Twenty-third Floor
New York, New York 10022
(212) 644-6866
1001 Connecticut Avenue NW — Suite 310
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 822-8414

RECENT HISPANIC POLLS: A SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Prepared by

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The Hispanic Policy Development Project

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February 1984

Introduction

HISPANICS have lived in what is now the United States for over 400 years, and they are a large and growing segment of our population. Despite this reality, only limited empirical data are available regarding Hispanic attitudes on major issues which affect their lives.

In the last few years, a few initiatives have been taken to survey this community. These limited opinion polls are giving us some important baseline information for measuring changes in the future.

The practical utility of this information is truly impressive, so much so that one wonders why so little has been done in determining Hispanic attitudes. An understanding of Hispanic language preferences, for example, will help determine the best way to market to a population that has a purchasing power conservatively estimated at over $70 billion a year. Hispanic views on national political issues could well determine who will reside in the White House after the 1984 election.

Because so little Hispanic polling has been done, there is sometimes a tendency for users to go beyond the data and not realize the limitations of the surveys. Various segments of the Hispanic community have somewhat different perspectives on certain issues. As expected, surveys of Hispanic communities tend to be influenced to some degree by geography, income, and occupational status. Attitudes also vary by ethnic subgroup, and by the length of time Hispanics have lived in this country; thus Hispanics whose ancestors lived in the Southwest before it became a part of the United States often have viewpoints which differ from those of new arrivals. Thus while there is considerable agreement on many issues, Hispanics are indeed a heterogeneous population. This diversity is demonstrated in the varying responses to certain questions which are reported by surveys carried out in different regions or with dissimilar target groups.

The studies summarized in the following presentation are by no means the only ones available. Indeed, this brief summary is not meant to be definitive or exhaustive. What we have attempted to do is to condense and present simply some of the findings of the more recent, the more reliable, and/or the more interesting polls that have come to our attention.

Raul Yzaguirre
President
National Council of La Raza

1.
Surveys of Hispanics

American public opinion polls traditionally have included too few Hispanics to permit separate presentation of data from Hispanic subsamples. In the past few years, however, a number of Hispanic-focused surveys have been conducted. A few have been national polls which deliberately have included large Hispanic subsamples because they focused on issues such as immigration. Others—such as several voter participation surveys conducted by or for the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, and the recent survey of elected and appointed Hispanic officials carried out for the Hispanic Policy Development Project—have included only Hispanics.

While the polls differ greatly in their purposes, scope, sampling method, and representativeness, they do offer useful information about Hispanic attitudes, issue priorities and perceptions, and consumer behavior. The information in this document summarizes findings from several of these surveys. All the surveys which were reviewed are listed in the **Sources** appendix; the following were used most extensively:

- Several surveys have been conducted by or for the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP); we especially have used surveys, conducted between November 1981 and January 1982, of 903 adults in East Los Angeles and San Antonio. Results from these surveys in some cases are compared with data from the 1979 Chicano Survey conducted by the National Chicano Research Network at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. SVREP also has conducted or supported surveys in Denver, Chicago, and the Rio Grande Valley. These surveys focus on voter attitudes and demographic information needed for voter participation efforts.

- Yankelovich, Skelly & White conducted a Hispanic market study, "Spanish USA," in early 1981 for the Spanish International Network (SIN). This survey included 646 interviews of approximately equal numbers of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and other Hispanics; results later were weighted statistically to correspond to each group's percentage of the U.S. population. This survey focused on consumer habits and media use, with strong emphasis on Spanish-language media.

- Some 448 Hispanic elected and appointed officials were surveyed in June and July 1983 by Daniel Yankelovich's Public Agenda Foundation for the Hispanic Policy Development Project (HPDP). Reports from that survey were in preparation when this summary was written; NCLR provided a list of Hispanic officials used for that study, and was given access to preliminary data from the survey. Mexican Americans were overrepresented in the survey because they are more likely than other Hispanics to be elected or appointed officials. The survey emphasized Hispanic attitudes about public policy issues such as political participation, education, and jobs.

- The recent Coca-Cola Hispanic Study was a survey of Hispanic retailers, small business owners/managers, community and opinion leaders in the five largest Hispanic markets: New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Miami. The survey included 500 respondents, and the sample was designed to be representative of each community rather than statistically generalizable; Hispanic business people were deliberately overrepresented. The survey was designed by The Cultural Communications Group of New York, and conducted by the Strategy Research Corporation of Miami. It focused on perceived needs of each community and how they can be met; some brand data were also obtained, but not published. Findings were published in late 1983.

Another major Hispanic study is the 1979 Chicano Survey directed by Carlos Arce at the National Chicano Research Network, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. This survey, funded by the National Institute of Mental Health, included lengthy face-to-face interviews with 991 Mexican-descent persons living in the Chicago area and in the five Southwestern states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas. A probability sample was used, and the survey was carefully constructed and implemented. Preliminary findings from the study were first published in 1981 in the Network's monthly newsletter, **La Red/The Net**. The data have formed the basis for various papers and dissertations, and have been made available for comparison with findings from other studies. This survey is not referenced extensively here because it was conducted in 1979, and this summary focuses on more recent polls.

Each of these surveys had a different purpose, and their samples were extremely varied. None had a sample design which would allow results to be generalized to reflect the attitudes or characteristics of the overall U.S. Hispanic population. For example, the Hispanic Policy Development Project included only Hispanic elected and appointed officials, the Coca-Cola survey was limited to respondents in just five cities, and most of the SVREP surveys were local. The 1979 Chicano Survey included only one Hispanic subgroup. Some of the surveys appear to reflect the priorities of their sponsors or authors, and thus certain of the findings or interpretations must be viewed with caution. Each, however, provides valuable insights into certain segments of the Hispanic community.

2.
Issue Priorities and Perspectives

Key Problems

All the surveys mentioned above, except the SIN study, asked what issues or problems the respondents considered to be of the greatest importance to their community or to Hispanics nationwide. Most often identified were education and employment, but there were great differences across sites and surveys. For example, when asked to identify the single most important problem in the Hispanic community, Hispanic elected and appointed officials (HPDP survey) specified education. When given a list of issues, they were most likely to identify Hispanic unemployment, problems of undocumented workers, inadequate education, and low voting rates as "very serious" problems. Mexican American citizens in East Los Angeles identified crime as the most serious problem facing their community, while those in San Antonio, South Texas, Denver, and Chicago most often identified unemployment (SVREP surveys); Mexican American leaders in South Texas also considered unemployment the most serious local problem. Most Hispanic businesspersons and leaders in the five major Hispanic markets (Coca-Cola survey) said education or employment are the most important needs of the Hispanic community. Housing was identified frequently in the Coca-Cola survey, but was not a listed alternative in the HPDP survey; voter participation was identified less than half as often in the Coca-Cola survey, which included only a small number of elected and appointed officials, and was not listed among the perceived key problems in the SVREP study.

Education

Most surveys of Hispanics have found great concern about education, and also strong support for bilingual education. In the SVREP surveys, bilingual education was considered a good idea by 93 percent of San Antonio Mexican American citizens and 87 percent of East Los Angeles citizens, and by 96 percent of South Texas Mexican American leaders. Hispanic elected and appointed officials expressed similar support; 83 percent agreed that bilingual programs are "essential in helping Hispanic children to learn English and to do better in school." In addition, 73 percent agreed that such programs "will help Hispanic children become more employable," and 78 percent agreed that they "are equally important for Anglo children." Asked about emphasis in bilingual programs, 75 percent agreed that "basic subjects should be taught in English, with supplementary courses in Spanish." In the HPDP study, education was considered particularly important by Puerto Ricans, and Puerto Ricans and Cuban Americans supported bilingual education at a higher rate than Mexican Americans.

When the elected and appointed officials were asked to identify the single greatest obstacle to better education for Hispanics, financial obstacles, problems within the educational system, and lack of parental concern were each named by about one-fifth of the respondents. Asked to rate a list of 14 factors which might contribute to the high Hispanic dropout rate, 40 percent of officials felt that "parents who are uneducated" are a very important factor, and about one-third gave similar ratings to lack of special services for children with serious problems, and lack of encouragement by parents.

One opinion poll has reported somewhat lower rates of support for bilingual education among Hispanics, although the difference may reflect the specific wording of the question. A **Los Angeles Times** poll conducted in March 1983 found only a plurality of 45 percent of Hispanics who believed that bilingual education "helps Spanish-speaking students to learn more quickly."

The SVREP study asked whether the U.S. is spending too little or too much for various types of programs. The majority of respondents in San Antonio (63 percent) and East Los Angeles (59 percent) and the vast majority of Mexican American leaders in South Texas (91 percent) felt "we are spending too little" money on education; similar percentages—65 percent

in San Antonio, 55 percent in East Los Angeles, and 89 percent of South Texas Mexican American leaders—felt too little is being spent on bilingual education.

Employment

Several surveys have investigated various aspects of the employment issue. In the HPDP survey, elected and appointed officials were asked to identify the single greatest obstacle faced by Hispanics in the workplace; 44 percent of respondents felt that lack of education is the primary obstacle, and 23 percent identified discrimination. Another factor considered "very important" by 30 percent of respondents is lack of job skills. Asked to rate the effectiveness of affirmative action programs, the majority (63 percent) considered them "very" or "somewhat" effective in helping lower-income Hispanics, while 77 percent considered them similarly helpful to middle-income Hispanics. For both groups, only a small portion considered the programs "very" rather than "somewhat" effective.

When the Coca-Cola survey asked how corporations could help the Hispanic community, other than through donations, the assistance most often cited was education and job-training programs, and other employment-related suggestions included providing more jobs, providing equipment and materials for job training, hiring more Hispanics, and putting more Hispanics in executive positions. When asked to identify from a list the two most important methods for aiding the Hispanic community, respondents most often selected increasing Hispanic hiring and providing education and job training programs. Thus there was a heavy emphasis on assistance which would lead to employment and therefore to economic independence.

Voter Participation

Lack of full Hispanic participation in the political process was identified as a problem in several surveys. While it is considered especially important by elected and appointed officials, the need for more Hispanic elected officials and for greater Hispanic voter participation is widely perceived.

When the HPDP study asked respondents to identify the single greatest cause of low Hispanic voting participation, more than two in five officials said it is a feeling that the individual's vote would not make a difference. Other factors considered to be very important include lack of political information, and a lack of qualified organizers and leaders. Other studies of voting participation have found that the feeling that their votes will not make a difference is a significant factor in discouraging voter registration and voter turnout among minorities and women.

The Voting Rights Act extension enjoyed strong support in the Hispanic community. The SVREP survey found that 92 percent of Mexican American citizens polled in San Antonio and 86 percent of those polled in East Los Angeles supported extension of the Act.

Immigration

Immigration remains a controversial issue within as well as outside the Hispanic community. Several national polls have indicated that many Hispanics favor immigration reform, including curbs on immigration, and support employer sanctions. But in fact, reported Hispanic attitudes about immigration vary greatly by Hispanic subgroup, geographic location, and socioeconomic status—and by the wording of the question.

Hispanic leaders tend to oppose employer sanctions and national identity cards as a means of controlling illegal immigration; for example, 76 percent of Mexican American leaders in South Texas reached in the SVREP survey oppose a national identity card, and 57 oppose any employer-sanctions legislation. In the HPDP survey of elected and appointed officials, 53 percent of Mexican Americans, 36 percent of Puerto Ricans, and 8 percent of Cuban Americans considered the problems faced by undocumented workers to be a very serious concern. On the other hand, 35 percent of Mexican Americans, 21 percent of Puerto Ricans, and 15 percent of Cuban Americans felt that problems **caused** by undocumented workers are a very serious concern. Puerto Ricans and Cuban Americans were found to be more supportive than Mexican Americans of proposals to make it easier for undocumented aliens to obtain work, and of legalization. Leaders who consider themselves to be "liberals" are far more likely to support legalization than those who consider themselves to be "moderates" or "conservatives."

A study of the "Chicano political elite" conducted by Rodolfo de la Garza of the University of Texas at Austin in 1979 found that only 22 percent of the leaders voiced negative views about undocumented workers. A 1982 survey of Mexican American business

owners in Austin, conducted by Gilberto Cardenas, Rodolfo de la Garza, and Niles Hansen of the University of Texas at Austin, found similarly positive views of undocumented workers. Four-fifths of the employers felt that undocumented workers take jobs no one else wants, and more than three-fourths felt they help the Austin economy. Only one-fifth felt that undocumented workers abuse welfare and other social services, while more than seven-eighths felt that undocumented workers pay their share of taxes but do not receive their share of benefits. The large majority favors legislation, and more than three-fifths of these respondents oppose employer sanctions.

A recent study conducted by faculty of the Political Science Department of Pan American University found higher levels of support for employer sanctions and other limitations on immigration among South Texas residents. In this border area, job competition was considered a serious problem by nearly four-fifths of the Mexican Americans surveyed, and a similar percentage felt that Mexicans take jobs from U.S. citizens. Mexican Americans with lower incomes and educational levels were especially likely to perceive undocumented workers as a threat. However, even in this border area, a majority of Mexican Americans surveyed did not feel that illegal immigration has a negative impact on them personally, but rather considered it a problem within the region.

There have been other surveys on the immigration issues, including one conducted by a group which favors extremely restrictive immigration policies, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). The FAIR survey was conducted by pollsters Peter Hart and Lance Tarrance in June and July 1983, and included Blacks and Hispanics. FAIR reported that 57 percent of Hispanics favor "tougher restrictions" on illegal immigration, that 60 percent favor employer sanctions, and that 61 percent favor increasing expenditures for the border patrol. However, FAIR's survey also found that 51 percent of Hispanics believe that restricting illegal immigration would "be bad for the economy because some jobs would not get done or employers would have to pay higher wages," that 74 percent of Hispanics favor amnesty, and that 71 percent favor free public education for the children of illegal immigrants.

A **Los Angeles Times** poll conducted in March 1983 found strong Hispanic support for legalization, with 75 percent of Hispanics in California favoring an amnesty program. However, this poll also found that a majority (57 percent) of California Hispanics oppose employer sanctions. In addition, 59 percent felt that undocumented aliens contribute more to the U.S. economy than they get from it. A majority of California Anglos and Blacks, on the other hand, reportedly favor employer sanctions, feel that the undocumented get more from the U.S. economy than they contribute to it, and oppose amnesty.

Other Issues

Hispanics are generally considered to be "liberal" on economic issues and more "conservative" or traditional on issues involving the family. Survey data indicate that Hispanic viewpoints are somewhat more complex than this generalization suggests. For example, the SVREP survey found that in San Antonio and East Los Angeles, 75 percent of Mexican Americans surveyed favor the Equal Rights Amendment. While only 17 percent felt that abortion should be legal under all circumstances, another 47 percent support it under certain circumstances. Respondents felt the government is spending too little money on most social programs, from education to health and drug abuse, and too much on space exploration and foreign aid. They were divided on their views of military spending, with about one-quarter saying the government spends too little, and about one-third saying it spends too much.

Significant subgroup differences were found by HPDP on some issues. For example, only 15 percent of Cuban elected and appointed officials favor normalized relations with Cuba, as compared with 46 percent of Mexican Americans and 55 percent of Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans were more likely than Mexican Americans and Cuban Americans to believe that Puerto Rico should remain a commonwealth; 50 percent of all respondents felt it should become the nation's fifty-first state.

3.
Language Use and Media Habits

According to the 1980 Census, 5 percent of Americans speak primarily Spanish at home. However, 84 percent of those aged 5-17 and 72 percent of those 18 and over who reported speaking primarily Spanish in the home indicated that they also speak English well. This does not necessarily mean full literacy in English, since the Census did not include questions on reading or writing skills in English, nor does it necessarily indicate full literacy in Spanish. Many Hispanics greatly value retention of language; for example, 81 percent of the SIN respondents considered language retention or bilingualism to be the most important aspect of Hispanic culture and tradition, as did a large majority of the respondents in the 1979 Chicano Survey. However, national research studies have suggested that Hispanic language use patterns are similar to those of other immigrant groups: the first generation speaks primarily or only Spanish, the second generation learns Spanish first but then learns English, the third generation speaks mostly English, and many members of the fourth generation have lost their Spanish. It is difficult to obtain adequate language data on Hispanics, but several recent surveys have produced useful information. The 1979 Chicano Survey reported a trend toward bilingualism. The large majority of Coca-Cola and SIN survey interviews were conducted in Spanish; most other surveys had bilingual interviewers. About half the 1979 Chicano Survey interviews were conducted primarily in Spanish.

The SIN survey found that 23 percent of its respondents know only Spanish; this included just 19 percent of Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Cuban Americans, but 39 percent of other Hispanics. Only 4 percent of respondents born on the United States mainland speak only Spanish, as compared with 34 percent of those born elsewhere. Another 20 percent of respondents—and 27 percent of respondents born outside the continental United States—said they speak "enough English to get by."

The Coca-Cola survey, which focused on Hispanic businesspersons, found a particularly high rate of Spanish language use and preference. About half the respondents reportedly have no preference between Spanish and English, while 43 percent prefer Spanish and just 4 percent prefer English. Just over half (53 percent) felt Spanish is the best language for reaching the Hispanic community, while nearly half felt English is the best language for reaching opinion leaders. More than 40 percent of businesspersons prefer suppliers or corporate contacts who speak Spanish.

The SVREP survey found that only 11 percent of Mexican American citizens interviewed in East Los Angeles and San Antonio speak only English. Younger Mexican Americans were less likely to be monolingual Spanish speakers than older persons; only 6 percent of those 18-25 speak only Spanish, as compared with 22 percent of those over 65. Moreover, 79 percent of those who are monolingual in Spanish had at least one parent born outside the United States, and 81 percent had no more than eight years of schooling. A high proportion (44 percent) of Spanish monolinguals in the SVREP survey are housewives, and 67 percent have family incomes under $10,000. The SVREP study did not provide data on the percentage of persons who are bilingual versus monolingual in English.

Media Use

A frequently asked marketing question is how best to reach Hispanic consumers. Not surprisingly, the SIN study focused on Spanish versus English language media. It found that 63 percent of respondents consider Spanish language media important or very important, primarily because it is believed to help maintain Spanish language skills. Comparisons between English and Spanish language media indicated, however, that respondents are far more likely to consider English language media "modern and up to date" and "professional" than ascribe these characteristics to Spanish language media; in addi-

tion, they are somewhat more likely to feel that English language media deal with subjects that interest them, that such media include advertising for products in which they are interested, and carry advertising which captures their attention. On the other hand, Spanish language media are more likely to be favored as using language which is easy to understand.

Asked about use of Spanish versus English language media, 31 percent of respondents reported reading only English language newspapers and magazines, and 31 percent watch only English language TV, while just 20 percent listen only to English language radio. On the other hand, 17 percent watch only Spanish language television, 23 percent read only Spanish-language print media, and 25 percent listen only to Spanish language radio. Although about seven in ten respondents reported using Spanish language media at some point each week, demographics indicate that those who watch primarily Spanish language television are more likely than those who watch primarily English language TV to have been born outside the United States, to be 50 or older, and to have family incomes of less than $10,000 per year. Cuban Americans and other Hispanics are far more likely to watch primarily Spanish language television than are Mexican Americans; Puerto Ricans are approximately equally divided in their preferences.

The Coca-Cola study asked about language preferences in advertising. Of the businesspersons responding, 48 percent felt that advertising in Spanish is extremely important and another 38 percent felt it is somewhat important.

4.
Serving the Needs of Hispanics

Both the HPDP and Coca-Cola studies asked about the entities and institutions which might serve the needs of Hispanics. HPDP's elected and appointed officials were asked to rate a number of institutions; those receiving the highest mean rating were churches, Hispanic media, and Hispanic civil rights and service organizations; public schools and local governments were rated somewhat lower but still had positive ratings. Corporations and mainstream media were given the lowest ratings.

When asked what organizations were most responsive to local Hispanic community needs, Coca-Cola's businesspersons and local leaders were most likely to identify private nonprofit organizations, with local government ranked second. Major corporations and the federal government were considered least responsive. Specific organizations most often named as influential and helpful were primarily local community-based organizations or local chapters or affiliates of national organizations.

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